

JOSEPH ARON

Canada Transvaal

DEUXIÈME ÉDITION



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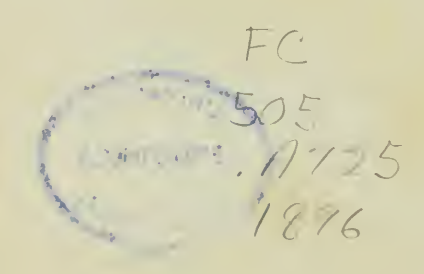
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Pour paraître prochainement :

Affaire Aron contre Lazard, 3e Chambre du Tribunal de la Seine. La manière d'agir de certains princes du barreau français, d'un roi de la finance, et d'un avoué : Weill, Waldeck, Pelletier, Crémieux, Milhaud.



LETTRE

ENVOYÉE LE 22 MARS 1896 AUX PRINCIPAUX MEMBRES DU PARLEMENT FRANÇAIS

AVEC LA PREMIÈRE ÉDITION DE LA BROCHURE

"CANADA TRANSVAAL"

JOSEPH ARON
59, rue de Maubeuge
PARIS

Paris, le 22 mars 1896.

MONSIEUR,

Peut-être les lignes suivantes, publiées spontanément par le journal le plus important et le plus populaire de Berlin au reçu de ma brochure CANADA TRANSVAAL, mériteront-elles votre patriotique attention, au milieu du silence obstiné de toute la presse parisienne, tout à coup si étonnamment stupéfaite de l'audace de l'Angleterre, que je signale depuis si longtemps?

Canada Transvaal, tel est le titre du livre de Joseph Aron, paru récemment à Paris. La première partie de l'ouvrage est écrite en français et l'auteur y demande directement à l'Empereur Guillaume, en une adresse rédigée dans les termes les plus émouvants, la restitution de l'Alsace-Lorraine à la France. Cette adresse témoigne de vives sympathies pour notre Empereur et se reporte, en paroles bien senties, aux fiers antécédents historiques de l'Allemagne et de la France.

« Vous êtes sur le trône de Charlemagne, de Barberousse, de Charles-Quint, du grand Frédéric, de Guillaume Ier et de votre si noble et si bon père Frédéric III!... La France est le pays du même Charlemagne, de Philippe-Auguste, de François Ier, d'Henri IV, de Louis XIV et de Napoléon. L'Allemagne et la France sont donc toutes les deux d'égale noblesse d'épée... »

M. Aron conclut alors que ces deux nobles et grandes nations étaient destinées à marcher la main dans la main, pour le maintien de la paix universelle et pour la protection du bonheur des peuples.

La partie essentielle de l'ouvrage consiste en une violente attaque contre l'Angleterre, dont les agissements d'il y a un siècle — qualifiés de brigandage — envers le Canada sont vivement critiqués. C'est pour marcher de concert contre la perfide Albion qu'Aron appelle « aux armes », car la posture de l'Angle-

terre dans la question transvaalienne est de point en point semblable à celle qu'elle eut jadis vis-à-vis du Canada. La brochure relate les cruautés sanguinaires de l'époque, tel que l'assassinat de Riel (en 1885), d'après les extraits d'un ouvrage anglais, paru à New-York il y a plusieurs années.

"Canada Transvaal" suscitera un vif intérêt dans les cercles politiques allemands.

Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, du 8 mars 1896.

Vous avez sans doute lu, Monsieur, dans CANADA TRANSVAAL, ma lettre en français à l'Empereur d'Allemagne, mais vous n'avez probablement pas compris la dernière partie de ma brochure, qui est écrite en anglais et à laquelle répond le *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* en disant : « CANADA TRANSVAAL suscitera un vif intérêt dans les cercles politiques allemands. »

Je me permets de la traduire pour vous.

"Canada Transvaal", page 121.

Quelques mots aux Diplomates Français et Allemands

Si quelques-uns des diplomates français et allemands ont pris la peine de lire les extraits qui précèdent, ils seront à même de voir clairement dans quel but fut organisée la Hudson Bay Company.

Cette Compagnie, après s'être enrichie et avoir enrichi un nombre de Lords et des aventuriers intrigants au détriment et aux frais de ces pauvres métis français, et après avoir appauvri les pays environnants et extrait la quintessence de leurs ressources, céda ses prétendus droits au gouvernement britannique.

L'adresse pathétique du pauvre Riel à la nation américaine est bien digne d'être relue et approfondie.

La Chartered Company fut organisée pour l'Afrique du Sud dans le même but que jadis la Hudson Bay pour le Canada.

Que les diplomates français jettent un coup d'œil sur la carte de l'Afrique. Si l'on avait permis à l'Angleterre de prendre possession du Transvaal — chose qui serait un fait accompli aujourd'hui sans l'acte courageux et si opportun de l'Empereur d'Allemagne — combien de temps cela aurait-il pris pour que l'Afrique britannique se fût étendue du Cap jusqu'aux frontières des possessions françaises, et même jusqu'aux portes de l'Algérie?

Est-ce que les diplomates français sont assez naïfs pour croire que la marche ascendante des ambitions anglaises vers ce but soit définitivement arrêtée par la dépêche impériale au Président Kruger?

Si réellement ils le croient, il est temps encore pour eux de

se réveiller et d'ouvrir les yeux au grand jour! Ils n'ont qu'à lire la récente dépêche de Chamberlain (qui, dans son discours du mois de novembre dernier, prouva qu'il était parfaitement d'accord avec Cécil Rhodes, le prince de Galles, le duc de Fife, Barnato, Lionel Phillips et tous les autres complices et alliés secrets du docteur Jameson); qu'ils lisent, dis-je, cette dépêche de Chamberlain adressée au Président Kruger et qu'ils lisent aussi les commentaires suivants de la presse anglaise du 8 février 1896.

. . . .

Si ces extraits ne suffisent pas pour montrer de quelle manière le gouvernement britannique compte opérer; s'ils ne paraissent pas concluants pour amener les autres puissances à réagir avec la plus impérieuse énergie, il me semble malheureusement évident qu'il est dans la destinée de l'Angleterre de prendre possession de tout ce qu'elle voudra autour d'elle et de devenir l'incontestée maîtresse du monde!

Et maintenant, pour terminer, je m'adresserai tout spécialement aux diplomates allemands en leur disant : « La seule pierre d'achoppement qui se dresse contre une alliance sincère entre la France et l'Allemagne, c'est la question d'Alsace-Lorraine. Par leur rétrocession à la France, les deux pays pourraient réduire de plus de moitié leur budget de guerre et alors l'Allemagne pourrait trouver en Afrique ou ailleurs des avantages valant cent fois plus qu'une douzaine d'Alsace-Lorraine. Aujourd'hui, votre véritable ennemie n'est pas la France, c'est l'Angleterre. Gardez-vous d'oublier que l'Angleterre ne pardonne jamais à qui lui a fait peur une fois!... La presse anglaise vient de traiter l'Allemagne d'une façon bien plus outrageante que jamais ne le fit la presse française dans les périodes les plus aiguës de son inimitié. »

Les diplomates allemands ont à examiner profondément et à décider ensuite s'il est de l'intérêt et du bonheur de leur patrie de laisser les Anglais contracter des alliances contre l'Allemagne, ce qu'ils feront nécessairement tôt ou tard.

Que l'Empereur allemand et son peuple sachent donc faire un pas en arrière et s'allient avec les Français... Mais cela, il faut bien le répéter, ne se pourra jamais réaliser si l'Alsace et la Lorraine ne sont pas volontairement et amicalement rendues à la France. Et pourtant une telle alliance mettrait les deux gouvernements en mesure de faire, pour le bonheur des deux peuples, des choses fécondes qui dépasseraient même les rêves des socialistes les plus utopistes!

En émettant ces idées, que je viens de reproduire pour vous, Monsieur, j'ai cru bien dire et faire œuvre utile. Je ne sais ce que me coûtera cette nouvelle franchise, car je suis habitué à de drôles de récompenses; ainsi, pour avoir dévoilé certains actes sur le Panama,

en 1893, notamment le projet de vendre aux Américains le Panama Railroad (machination anti-française que vont accomplir dans deux mois les Eiffel, les Bunau-Varilla et les Artigue, si, d'ici là, le gouvernement ou la Chambre n'y met bon ordre), j'ai été, à la 3e Chambre civile, fort malmené par l'avocat d'Eiffel; pour ma lettre au Président de la République, je suis traduit en ce moment devant la 9e Chambre, sous le prétexte que j'ai diffamé un autre personnage, comme envoyé officiel du gouvernement français en Amérique et en Russie. Fort des sympathies des financiers puissants contre lesquels je lutte depuis deux ans dans mes journaux *l'Homologation*, *les Mines d'Or*, *l'Or et l'Argent*; fort aussi de la conspiration du silence organisée autour de mes arguments et de mes documents par l'Anglais Blackith, de Blowitz et certains gros spéculateurs, ce Monsieur, délégué de M. le ministre des Affaires étrangères et de M. le ministre de l'Instruction publique, prétend m'empêcher de fournir à la Justice les preuves de ce que j'ai avancé contre lui, homme public; il voudrait obtenir 100,000 francs de dommages-intérêts en m'empêchant de me défendre. Ce procès a commencé mercredi dernier à la neuvième Chambre; mercredi prochain il continuera au début de l'audience. J'espère y voir triompher un point de droit qui intéresse beaucoup de justiciables.

Le grand jour arrive, d'ailleurs, tôt ou tard pour la vérité. Les flibustiers des mines d'or ont longtemps ri de mes prophéties... Et cependant voilà que, sur des dépèches concluantes de moi à M. le Président du Conseil et à M. le Garde des Sceaux, le Parquet vient de faire ouvrir une enquête sur la Buffelsdoorn par M. Bernard, commissaire aux délégations judiciaires, qui m'a demandé communication de toutes mes études sur ce sujet. — Le tour du Panama Railroad arrivera peut-être aussi!

Mais les événements d'Egypte doivent aujourd'hui attirer plus directement l'attention de tous, et je reviens à l'Angleterre.

A ce propos, beaucoup de journaux anglais (le

Glasgow Herald, *Public Opinion*, etc...) qui ont bien voulu m'envoyer leurs comptes rendus, très soulignés, m'invectivent à qui mieux mieux, ce à quoi je m'attendais... Mais, malgré toute leur bonne ou mauvaise volonté, ils n'ont pu relever qu'une seule erreur dans toute ma brochure, et jugez un peu de son importance! Ayant en tête le nom du pirate Jameson, j'ai parlé du chemin de fer de NATAL A JAMESTOWN au lieu d'écrire : de NATAL A JOHANNESBURG!...

Avec une franchise qui déplaira peut-être à certains organes parisiens qui, au lieu de prendre avantage des injures grossières publiées pendant des semaines par tous les journaux anglais contre l'Allemagne, ont cru plus intelligent de se taire à ce sujet, et même, comme le *Temps*, d'encenser alors le ministère anglais, —je dirai aux rédacteurs du *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* :

C'est une bonne chose que vous avez faite d'admettre le principe de discuter sur l'Alsace-Lorraine, et c'est un bon courage que de recommander ma brochure à l'attention sérieuse des cercles diplomatiques.

Je remercie également le *Post* de Berlin, la *Gazette de Francfort* et les autres journaux allemands d'avoir loyalement et gratuitement fait mention de ma brochure.

Mais mes plus sincères remerciements sont ceux que je dois et que j'adresse respectueusement à M. Herbette, ambassadeur de France à Berlin. Son approbation à ma brochure CANADA TRANSVAAL m'est précieuse, car nul plus que lui n'est à même de savoir si la question que j'ai agitée est ou non opportune.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, mes salutations empressées.

Joseph Aron



PORTRAIT DE L'AUTEUR



ortrait de Guillaume II, offert en 1892 au corps des volontaires de Westminster et retourné contre le mur en 1895, par les officiers de ce corps, après la lecture de la dépêche de l'empereur au président Kruger.



Canada Transvaal

A SA MAJESTÉ GUILLAUME II

EMPEREUR D'ALLEMAGNE

Sire,

Les lois de la guerre auraient fait de moi votre sujet, voilà déjà un quart de siècle. Mais j'étais né Français, et j'aime ma patrie comme vous aimez la vôtre : j'optai donc pour la France et me fis, plus tard, naturaliser citoyen des États-Unis, pays où les hommes d'Etat sont énergiques et résolus et suivent, comme vous, une politique raisonnée et déterminée. Vous avez pu voir, en des temps tout récents, Sire, que le Président Cleveland a su, ainsi que Votre Majesté elle-même, parler haut et en face à l'ennemi commun de toutes les nations, au plus grand, peut-être au seul perturbateur de la paix du monde.

Sire, j'ai été plus loin encore que de n'avoir pas voulu, n'étant pas né tel, devenir le sujet des Empereurs d'Allemagne; j'ai, dans des circonstances spéciales qui me justifieraient s'il en était besoin, écrit et publié, de ma plume et sous mon nom, un livre contre l'Allemagne, qui a paru à

New York et à Paris : *les Deux Républiques Sœurs*. C'était en 1885; si c'était à refaire, je le referais. Les Alsaciens-Lorrains garderont toujours au fond de leur cœur l'amour de la France. Mais aujourd'hui je crois que l'on peut se hasarder à parler, car, sur ce trône ne datant que de 1871, vous vous êtes assis en prince jeune et pourtant sage, dont l'initiative et les idées personnelles pourraient. selon votre volonté, influer en bien sur les destinées de l'humanité.

Vous aviez tout de suite compris, vous, qu'au mois de novembre 1895, lors du fameux banquet donné à Londres pour célébrer l'inauguration du chemin de fer de Natal à Jamestown, que les discours prononcés par Sir Charles Tupper et surtout par Chamberlain indiquaient déjà clairement la piraterie projetée contre le Transvaal. Il serait à souhaiter que les Français anglophiles et les Allemands qui refusent de voir que la rétrocession de l'Alsace-Lorraine à la France ferait le bonheur des deux peuples, lisent ces deux discours.

Il n'y a, Sire. qu'à interroger les quatre points cardinaux pour voir et sentir. en effet, que le seul mauvais vent qui souffle sur le monde. c'est le vent du nord-ouest. c'est le vent d'Angleterre...

Ne croyez-vous pas. Sire, qu'il serait préférable de tenir constamment les yeux fixés vers ce foyer de mauvais complots. vers ce nid de traîtrises éternelles, que d'arrêter la marche du progrès et de la lumière par cette paix armée qui ruine et tient toujours en défiance ces deux grandes nations qui s'appellent la France et l'Allemagne?

Qu'importent. en effet. à l'Empire germain les deux provinces annexées?

N'y a-t-il pas assez de territoires à visiter et à féconder sur la surface du globe?

Certainement, ni un ministre ni un député allemands ne pourraient prendre l'initiative de rendre à la France ces deux provinces d'Alsace et de Lorraine... Mais, vous, Sire! . . . .

Je parle peut-être à Votre Majesté comme un fou. Je le suis sans doute : un journal de Londres (*The Financial Post*) m'a traité de tel ; mais je dois ajouter que, quelque temps après, ce même journal lançait à votre adresse cette même injure, dans ses mêmes colonnes!.....

Je n'ignore pas qu'il est outrecuidant de ma part d'oser vous écrire ainsi, et surtout sur des questions d'une aussi haute gravité; mais, dans l'antiquité, Sire, les Rois écoutaient quelquefois les vœux du plus obscur des passants: et, au moyen âge comme sous la Renaissance, les Rois et les Empereurs ne dédaignaient pas les paroles des fous!...

Sire, l'Allemagne est un grand pays, appelé peut-être de nouveau aux plus hautes destinées comme par le passé; les deux plus grands génies de la France depuis deux siècles l'ont aimée et chantée: Voltaire, dans ses immortelles lettres à Frédéric le Grand, et Victor Hugo, dans ce vers des *Burgraves* :

. . . . Il faut une Allemagne au monde!

Il est audacieux d'oser parler après Voltaire et Hugo, et cependant quelque chose me dit que vous parcourrez sans trop en rire cette lettre d'un Lorrain obscur!... Que n'accompliraient pas, en effet, pour le bonheur du monde, la France et l'Allemagne réconciliées?...

Ces deux nations sont patriotes, jalousement attachées à leur sol et à leurs traditions de gloire... L'Allemagne a anéanti les légions de

Varus envoyées par Auguste; la France s'est débarrassée des Anglais après cent ans de luttes acharnées. Pourquoi l'Allemagne et la France, restant chacune chez elle, ne seraient-elles pas les amies éternelles, les alliées sages, les deux phares éclairant le monde?

Où sont donc les arts et les sciences? La médecine, la poésie, la philosophie, la musique? En France et en Allemagne surtout. La bravoure non mercenaire existe sans réserve dans ces deux grands pays. L'Allemagne est protestante, mais non de ce protestantisme anglais, qui est hypocrite, ennemi de la franchise et de la gaieté permise. La France est, de son côté, de religion tolérante. Nuls voisins, jamais, ne furent faits pour mieux s'entendre.

Laissez-moi, Sire, prendre la liberté de mettre en tête de ce petit livre votre sympathique portrait d'homme jeune; cette image me semble faite pour inspirer à tous des idées d'espérance... Vous êtes sur le trône de Charlemagne, de Barberousse, de Charles-Quint, du grand Frédéric, de Guillaume Ier et de votre si noble et bon père Frédéric III!... La France est le pays du même Charlemagne, de Philippe-Auguste, de François Ier, d'Henri IV, de Louis XIV et de Napoléon.

L'Allemagne et la France sont donc toutes les deux de pure et d'égale noblesse d'épée.

Laissez-moi aussi, Sire, en terminant, prendre la liberté de mettre sous vos yeux une lettre (dont j'ai en main le texte original qui me fut offert par son auteur), de M. Albert Uhrich, le fils du général qui eut l'honneur de défendre Strasbourg contre les armes de l'Allemagne; cette lettre fut adressée, en 1888, à votre auguste mère, alors qu'elle faisait l'admiration de tous, au chevet de votre noble et chevaleresque père.

Madame,

La reconnaissance des peuples est acquise à Votre Majesté dont les soins conservent les jours d'un illustre époux.

A sa destinée est liée la paix du monde; qu'il la lui assure désormais en rendant l'Alsace-Lorraine à la France.

L'Allemagne fut assez forte pour les conquérir; elle est assez puissante aujourd'hui pour en faire l'abandon; sa gloire en grandira dans l'histoire, et la blessure qui saigne au flanc de ma patrie sera fermée.

Jamais gage de paix plus durable n'aura été donné à l'Europe.

L'Empereur Fréderic III illustrera l'humanité et Votre Majesté, entre toutes les souveraines, sera bénie.

Que Dieu protège l'Empereur.

Je suis, Madame, avec le plus profond respect, de Votre Majesté, le très humble serviteur.

Signé : Uhrich,
Fils du Défenseur de Strasbourg.

Monaco, 10 mars 1888.

Daignez agréer, Sire, l'hommage des sentiments avec lesquels je suis, de Votre Majesté, le très humble et très respectueux serviteur.

Joseph ARON
de Phalsbourg (Lorraine).

QUELQUES MOTS
AUX FRANÇAIS ANGLOMANES

Il est vraiment pénible de voir tant de Français se refuser à considérer l'Angleterre comme l'ennemie : il n'est pas de circonstances où une partie de la presse parisienne ne témoigne de cet état d'esprit. Tant qu'il ne s'agit que de frivolités, telles que de demander, dans les grands restaurants de Paris, du *claret* au lieu de prononcer du *Bordeaux*, de faire blanchir son linge à Londres et d'adopter, sur les champs de courses, tout un vocabulaire de mots anglais, d'ailleurs mal prononcés, il n'y a aucun péril à craindre sauf celui du ridicule... Mais quand les questions les plus hautes sont en jeu, quand nous pourrions prendre avantage des événements pour forcer la grande pillarde à des réparations plus que légitimes, la diplomatie et la presse françaises s'abusent étrangement en se laissant prendre à quelques phrases bienveillantes à notre adresse, dites par l'Angleterre au moment où elle est en danger. Ces jours derniers, elle semblait prendre part à notre douleur de l'Alsace-Lorraine perdue!... Il est bien temps, en vérité! Nous a-t-elle donc tendu la main en 1870?

Il nous est venu à l'idée de rappeler, entre tant d'autres, un des crimes de l'Angleterre contre la France : l'assassinat de Riel, en 1885, au Canada. Les *rares* diplomates français qui connaissent l'anglais pourront lire avec fruit les extraits que nous donnons plus loin d'un livre paru à New York à cette époque.

Il y a un peu plus d'un siècle aujourd'hui que le Canada était à la France : la grande

chéquarde du dernier siècle, Mme de Pompadour, le vendit en sous-mains à l'Angleterre. Mais le Canada persista à rester français de cœur et d'âme; la langue française y est parlée couramment: l'intolérante religion d'Henri VIII a été impuissante à dompter les vaincus; et, cependant, après leur prise de possession du pays, en 1760, les Anglais y commirent toutes les horreurs imaginables: les déportations en masse des Français, au loin, et en séparant cruellement chaque membre d'une même famille... Pendant la guerre de Cent ans, ils avaient fait de meme en Normandie, à Harfleur notamment. Les Anglais se servent toujours des memes procédés: c'est ainsi qu'ils allaient, tout récemment, recommencer au Transvaal leur abominable épopée de 1760 au Canada, — s'ils n'en avaient pas été empèchés, d'abord par les braves Boers, dont plusieurs sont Français d'origine, et ensuite par une dépèche à jamais mémorable... datée de Berlin!

Mais, comme introduction au récit de l'assassinat de Riel, nous ne remonterons pas au dix-huitième siècle; nous jetterons seulement un coup d'œil sur les cinquante dernières années du Canada, et, pour cela, nous ne voulons que découper quelques extraits d'une étude parue dans un périodique français *plutôt anglophile*, la Revue des deux mondes de 1885. Cette étude est de M. Victor du Bled et est antérieure à la très explicable insurrection de Riel et à son inexplicable assassinat. Nous citons au hasard, au courant de notre lecture :

En 1838 éclata ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler la seconde insurrection du Bas-Canada, insurrection qui revêtit plutôt le caractère d'une tentative d'invasion,

car elle partit des patriotes réfugiés aux États-Unis et des *sympathiseurs*, c'est-à-dire des citoyens américains qui les secondaient. Ils avaient fondé l'*Association des chasseurs*, qui comprenait quatre degrés : l'Aigle, le Castor, la Raquette, le Chasseur ou simple soldat. Chaque degré avait ses rites, ses signes de reconnaissance; ainsi, pour savoir si quelqu'un faisait partie de la société, on lui disait : « Chasseur, c'est aujourd'hui mardi. » Il devait répondre : « Mercredi. » Tout initié prêtait serment d'obéir aux règles de l'association, d'aider les frères chasseurs, de ne jamais divulguer les secrets sous peine « de voir ses propriétés détruites et d'avoir lui-même le cou coupé jusqu'à l'os ». Robert Nelson publia une déclaration d'indépendance et fit appel aux patriotes restés dans leurs foyers, mais il n'avait pas de quoi leur fournir des armes; tout se borna à quelques engagements de détail sur la frontière et le mouvement fut étouffé dans son berceau. Sir John Colborne proclama la loi martiale, arma les volontaires, et, à la tête de huit mille hommes, marcha vers le pays insurgé. Déjà tout était rentré dans l'ordre, ce qui ne l'empêcha pas de promener partout l'incendie, sans plus d'égards pour l'innocent que pour le coupable. « Pour avoir la tranquillité, disait le *Herald* de Montréal, il faut que nous fassions la solitude. Balayons les Canadiens de la surface de la terre! » Les prisons s'emplirent de suspects. Ce n'était pas assez pour l'oligarchie, qui voulait que cette fois le sang coulât sur l'échafaud. Trois juges canadiens, MM. Panet, Bedard et Vallères, eurent le courage de contester la légalité de l'ordonnance concernant l'*habeas corpus* : ils furent suspendus de leurs fonctions, les prisonniers traduits devant les officiers de l'armée qui en condamnèrent quatre-vingt-dix-neuf à mort. Le *Herald* rayonnait. Le 19 novembre 1838, il publia ces lignes qui respirent un véritable cannibalisme politique : « Nous avons vu la nouvelle potence et nous croyons qu'elle sera dressée aujourd'hui en face de la prison; de sorte que les rebelles sous les verrous jouiront d'une perspective qui, sans doute, aura l'effet de leur procurer un

sommeil profond avec d'agréables songes. Six ou sept à la fois seraient là tout à l'aise, et un plus grand nombre peut y trouver place dans un cas pressé. » Douze des condamnés périrent sur l'échafaud, cinquante-huit furent déportés en Australie, le reste obtint sa mise en liberté sous caution. Le ministère tenait son prétexte, et. comme l'échauffourée de 1838 avait amoindri l'intérêt que l'opposition pouvait témoigner encore aux Canadiens, il n'hésita plus et proposa le bill d'union qui consacrait à peu près les conclusions du rapport de lord Durham. Envoyé à Québec comme gouverneur, M. Poulet Thomson obtint aisément l'approbation du conseil spécial; dans le Haut-Canada, les chambres discutèrent quelque temps, mais le gouvernement finit par l'emporter. Quant à la chambre des communes, elle adopta et presque sans débat le bill d'union. Il en fut autrement à la chambre des lords, où le duc de Wellington, lord Ellenborough, lord Brougham et lord Gosford le combattirent hautement. Lord Ellenborough démontra qu'on ne pouvait imposer aux Canadiens un faux semblant de gouvernement représentatif et que le monde entier regarderait comme une fraude électorale la décision qui attribuait aux deux provinces la même représentation, bien que l'une fût deux fois plus nombreuse que l'autre. Lord Gosford, dans un remarquable discours, rendit justice aux Canadiens, et peignit les Anglais de Montréal sous leur jour véritable, c'est-à-dire plus royalistes que le roi et guidés dans leur conduite par un esprit de domination insupportable; il s'étonna aussi qu'on imposât la dette du Haut-Canada, qui excédait 1 million de livres sterling, à une province qui n'en avait presque point. Mais le gouvernement avait pour lui les préjugés nationaux, plus forts que la justice et la raison; de plus, le Haut-Canada devait 1 million de piastres à la maison Baring, qui exerça sur le parlement une pression considérable; un de ses membres allait devenir chancelier de l'Échiquier dans le ministère Melbourne. Sanctionné par la reine, le 23 juillet 1840, l'acte d'union fut proclamé au Canada le 5 février 1841.

La faction coloniale poussa des cris de triomphe, tandis que les Canadiens s'abandonnèrent au désespoir et virent dans la nouvelle constitution le présage de leur effacement complet, de leur servitude politique. *Hewers of wood and drawers of water* (fendeurs de bois et porteurs d'eau), telle était la perspective qu'on leur indiquait alors comme une destinée inévitable. La fusion graduelle des deux races en une seule ne semblait plus qu'une question de temps, et, comme l'observent MM. Garneau et Chauveau, l'Angleterre avait pour elle l'expérience des siècles. La légalité est un mot robuste qui supporte bien des fortunes, et il y a des occasions où l'arbitraire masqué d'un parlement ne vaut pas mieux que l'arbitraire déclaré d'un seul homme. N'avait-elle pas, cette Angleterre, absorbé la nationalité de ses anciens conquérants, les Normands-Français, ensuite celle des Écossais, puis celle des Irlandais? Par l'intrigue, la corruption, la violence, n'avait-elle pas, en 1706 et en 1800, obtenu des parlements d'Écosse et d'Irlande leur propre suicide, l'abolition de leur constitution particulière, de leurs privilèges? Mais les peuples, comme les individus, se leurrent d'espérances, et souvent leur logique se trouve en contradiction avec la logique de la Providence. On verra bientôt comment la certitude de conserver une majorité anglaise dans les chambres décida la métropole à conceder bien plus qu'on ne réclamait depuis cinquante ans, comment, croyant favoriser ses nationaux, elle donna aux Canadiens-Français l'occasion de faire reconnaître leurs droits, et finit par comprendre que ceux-ci deviendraient sa meilleure défense contre les Etats-Unis et contre l'établissement d'une nouvelle république dans l'Amérique du Nord. Dieu, dit un proverbe portugais, écrit droit avec des lignes tortues : en 1840, vainqueurs et vaincus confondaient la fin d'un acte avec le dénoûment d'une pièce.

Presque au milieu du Dominion, à égale distance du pôle et de l'equateur, se trouve le territoire du Manitoba. Là vivait, en 1869, une population demi-nomade, les *Half-Breds*, en français les Bois-Brûlés,

nés en majeure partie de mariages entre les Indiennes et les Français-Canadiens, parlant notre langue et professant la religion catholique. Après le rachat de ce territoire à la compagnie d'Hudson, le gouvernement d'Ottawa résolut d'y diriger un courant d'émigration anglaise : il fait décréter son annexion pure et simple sous le nom de province du Manitoba, envoie un gouverneur, des arpenteurs à Winnipeg, bourg d'un millier d'âmes, situé à l'embouchure de la Rivière-Rouge, et capitale du pays. Mais voilà que les métis, ces demi-sauvages, comme les appelaient dédaigneusement les politiciens d'Ontario, s'avisent de trouver mauvais qu'on veuille disposer d'eux sans les consulter et installer de nouveaux colons sur des terres dont ils ont la jouissance depuis un temps immémorial. Ils se réunissent, forment un comité national, et, au nombre de quatre cents, se portent au devant du gouverneur. « Qui vous envoie? leur demande celui-ci. — Le gouvernement. — Quel gouvernement? — Le gouvernement que nous avons fait. » Ils obligent M. Mac-Dougall à rebrousser chemin fort piteusement, constituent de pied en cap un gouvernement provisoire, avec un président, un ministère, et choisissent, comme symbole de leur origine et de leur république indo-canadienne, le drapeau blanc fleurdelisé, au milieu duquel on place la harpe d'Irlande. Puis, ils lancent une déclaration solennelle dont voici le préambule : « Nous, les représentants du peuple, assemblés en conseil au Fort-Garry, le 24 novembre 1869, après avoir invoqué le Dieu des nations, nous appuyant sur les principes fondamentaux de la morale, déclarons solennellement, au nom de notre constitution et en notre propre nom, devant Dieu et devant les hommes, que nous refusons de reconnaître l'autorité du Canada, qui prétend avoir le droit de nous commander et de nous imposer une forme de gouvernement despotique... » Toutefois, ils se ravisent et entrent en négociations avec le ministère fédéral; mais, au moment où tout va s'arranger sans effusion de sang, les colons anglais, déjà nombreux autour du lac Winnipeg, s'insurgent contre les métis. . . . . .

Cependant, les délégués du gouvernement provisoire auprès du Dominion étaient reçus comme les ambassadeurs d'un gouvernement régulier; on accepta leurs conditions, on traita ces vaincus comme des vainqueurs, on érigea le district de la Rivière-Rouge en province autonome, avec un lieutenant-gouverneur, des ministres responsables, deux chambres, l'une élective, l'autre à vie, où la langue française et la langue anglaise sont traitées sur un pied d'égalité parfaite. (Cette dernière, qui se composait de sept membres, a eu le rare désintéressement de se dissoudre elle-même pour alléger les dépenses de l'État.) De plus, la confédération prenait à sa charge la majeure partie des dépenses provinciales jusqu'à ce que la population comptât au moins 400,000 âmes. Aujourd'hui, les Manitobains envoient au parlement deux sénateurs et cinq députés; Winnipeg, la Ville-Champignon, compte 30,000 habitants; la valeur de la propriété s'y accroît d'une façon extraordinaire. On peut en juger par cette anecdote : il y a douze ans, un paroissien de l'archevêque Taché, contraint de quitter le pays, vient le trouver, et s'excusant de ne pouvoir payer son banc à l'église, lui offre, pour acquitter sa dette, un petit morceau de terrain dans Saint-Boniface : « A peine de quoi payer une messe basse, » ajoute timidement le brave homme. L'archevêque accepte : dix ans après, le terrain se revendait 130,000 francs.

« Les Français de France! » « Nos gens, » disent-ils en parlant de nous, qui, avec nos théories préconçues, nos jugements dogmatiques et superficiels, nous demandons si nous ne sommes pas dupes d'un mirage, en voyant cette Vendée transatlantique essaimer avec une étonnante rapidité, et, seule, sans appui de l'ancienne mère patrie, malgré l'émigration constante de l'Angleterre, pénétrer dans les comtés de l'Ouest, dans le Nouveau-Brunswick, dans les territoires du Nord-Ouest, jusque dans l'Ontario, franciser la capitale du Dominion et se répandre sur les États-Unis eux-mêmes. Les économistes reprochent à l'habitant sa routine agricole, son luxe, son imprévoyance; ils prétendent que partout où il s'installe, il

assassiné le sol (*they have murdered the soil*); ils constatent que les trois quarts de l'industrie, du commerce canadiens se trouvent entre des mains anglaises. Il y aurait beaucoup à dire là-dessus, et on pourrait invoquer le témoignage très autorisé de M. Stephen, président de la compagnie du Pacifique, qui voyant chaque jour les colons à l'œuvre, déclare supérieur et préférable aux autres le Français, en raison de ses qualités naturelles de sociabilité, d'esprit d'ordre, d'union, de bonne humeur et de persévérance. Si les Canadiens se dirigent de préférence vers les professions libérales, c'est que l'argent, le nerf de l'industrie, leur manque, tandis que les hommes et les capitaux anglais ne cessent d'affluer dans la colonie. En attendant, ils se multiplient, ils s'échelonnent sur toute la longueur du Dominion, entre l'Atlantique et le Pacifique : à l'avant-garde, à l'entrée du Saint-Laurent, l'île du Prince-Édouard, avec ses 11,000 Acadiens, les descendants de cette race poétique dont Longfellow a chanté les malheurs; puis la Nouvelle-Écosse avec ses 41,000, le Nouveau-Brunswick avec ses 57,000 Français et Acadiens; au centre, la province de Québec n'en a guère moins de 1,000,000, Ontario en compte 103,000; le Manitoba et la Colombie 14,000. Au mois de juin dernier, pendant la fête nationale de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, patron des Canadiens, de nombreux orateurs ont cité ces chiffres avec orgueil et rappelé que, sur 211 députés dont se compose le parlement fédéral, on compte 55 députés français de la province de Québec qui jouent un rôle prépondérant, puisqu'ils peuvent faire pencher la balance d'un côté ou de l'autre et marchent la main dans la main toutes les fois que la question nationale ou religieuse est en jeu. Au parlement fédéral, dit un écrivain, rien ne se fait sans nous; à Québec, au parlement provincial, rien ne se fait que par nous. A ce groupe compact il convient d'ajouter quelques députés français qui viennent d'Ontario et du Nouveau-Brunswick : dans les circonscriptions où ils ne sont pas encore assez nombreux, ils se concertent et ne donnent leurs voix qu'à bon escient. L'un d'eux est ministre au Nouveau-Brunswick, l'autre député à la

chambre d'Ontario, où il a prononcé un discours en français pour affirmer son droit.

En dehors de ces 1.300.000 Canadiens français, on en trouve aux États-Unis près de 500,000, par groupes de 5,000, de 10.000 et même de 15.000, qui, eux aussi, se comptent, fondent des journaux, des écoles, des sociétés de Saint-Jean-Baptiste et sont comme autant de petites Frances qui n'oublient pas la grande : quatre d'entre eux viennent d'entrer à la chambre des députés de l'Etat du Maine. Certes, il y aurait exagération à affirmer que l'accord le plus sympathique règne entre les diverses nationalités du Dominion, que les Anglais voient sans dépit les Français d'Amérique surgir de dessous terre et pulluler partout ; et, de même, parmi ceux-ci, on trouverait plus d'un *chauvin* qui caresse l'espoir de fonder un Etat absolument autonome lorsque sonnera l'heure de la séparation d'avec l'Angleterre ; mais, au fond, l'immense majorité se contente de rester attachée à ses souvenirs, de partager les mêmes espérances dans l'avenir de la patrie commune.

Extraits de la *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

Notre conclusion à tout cela est fort éloignée de celle de M. du Bled, car nous croyons que le Canada s'affranchira un jour du joug anglais, comme l'Irlande, comme les Indes, comme l'Australie. Les arrangements temporaires, les répressions, les calmes apparents ne sont pas le dénouement de la pièce ; ils n'en sont que la fin d'un acte.

J. A.

P. S. — Les journaux de Londres de ces derniers jours, que nous reproduisons d'après *Public Opinion* du 7 février 1896, nous donnent raison en montrant qu'au Canada, pas plus que dans les autres colonies anglaises, la satisfaction n'est pas aussi générale que Lord Salisbury voulait bien le dire

dans son discours d'il y a quelques mois à l'occasion de l'inauguration du chemin de fer de Natal à Jamestown. *Non, la pièce n'est pas finie...* Elle continue.

POLITICAL DISSENSIONS IN CANADA

Despite the fact that the deserting members of Premier Bowell's Cabinet have, with one exception, returned to their posts, the political situation continues to cause expressions of grave anxiety in Canadian journals. The reorganised Cabinet will include Sir Charles Tupper as Secretary of State. Sir Charles resigns the office of High Commissioner at London to accept the portfolio. All the Ministers who recently resigned from the Cabinet re-enter it, except Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, who gives way to his father.

MONTREAL HERALD

The men who one week ago said thaid Bowell was too weak a man and too incapable a leader to retain their allegiance have again submitted themselves to his Premiership. The Premier who suffered one of the direst treacheries in the history of constitutional government has folded the traitors to his heart again. Why? Not because they have come to an agreement on the main matter of controversy between them. Not because they are any nearer a conclusion on the school question than they were four years ago, unless one or other of the factions has in contemplation the blackest abnegation of its convictions. Not because they hated each other less, but because they loved office more; because it was a compromise and break.

MONTREAL MINERVE

Most certainly we cannot regard it as a matter of indifference whether M. Laurier gets into power or not. For with him and his following would get in all those who have deserted their party, all the hotheads, all the boodlers, and the doctrinaires who approve of the *Réveil*, the *Liberté*, the *Patrie*, the *Bataille*, and the *Monde*. And that would be a calamity worse than the pest. Nothing illustrates better the dangerous character of the Liberal party than the character of the journals which champion M. Laurier.

TORONTO WORLD

There never was a question before the Canadian people that has caused so much trouble as the Maditoba school question. It has set the two great sister provinces, Ontario and Quebec, by the ears, and has kept them in a ferment for years; it has been a source of untold trouble to the Conservative Party, and to its last three leaders, ABBOIT, THOMPSON, and BOWELL; it was the bottom of all the heartburnings of last session; it was the ground cause of the defection of the six Ministers the other day: it has delayed the consummation of the [Cabinet] settlement reached Monday night; it is, if we could get at the facts, the real source of the strife betwen Ontario and Quebec Ministers, and the strife between the Ontario contingent of the Ministry; it will yet bring further trouble, and perhaps a dissolution this session. It has set Conservative against Liberal, and Conservative against Conservative. Any day may see our national existence threatened and this sore still festering. Some way must be found of getting rid of it once and for ever.

TORONTO GLOBE

What the extent of their [the minority in Manitoba] grievance may be is debatable, but the Provincial Government has asked for an inquiry as to that, and herein Parliament finds to its hand an honourable and satisfactory way out of a labyrinth of difficulties from which no man otherwise sees a way. The proposal for a commission has been widely commended..... It may be said that the Quebec Ministers would imperil their position with their people in espousing this means of settlement, but it is only necessary to point out that Mr. LAURIER has avowed his belief in investigation from one end of the Province to the other, and recent elections do not indicate that Quebec differs from him very materially. Indeed, it requires no great insight to see that no other Province is more concerned in the maintenance of Provincial rights than Quebec itself. All that is required is the moral courage to retrace a false step and adopt the sound proposal of the Liberal leader.

OTTAWA TEMPS

In the eyes of the Tories Sir MACKENZIE BOWELL has ceased to be a martyr. Confronted with the impossibility of reconstructing his Cabinet, he has given way to the

exigencies and has capitulated before those whom only recently he threatened to crush. His surrender is unconditional. The revolters return to their places and resume office under the direction of Sir Charles Tupper. Sir Mackenzie Bowell remains Premier, but doubtless only temporarily, and Sir Charles Tupper will soon be Prem er in name as well as in fact.

PROGRÈS DE L'EST (OTTAWA)

The conspirators have now discovered to their cost that it is more difficult to make a *coup d'état* in the face of a Governor-General who stands outside of party politics, than with a Lieutenance-Governor who is a creature of the Government. They intended to use the same tactics against Sir Mackenzie Bowell at Ottawa which stood them in such good stead against M. Mercier in Quebec. But they committed a most fatal error. At Qnebec they managed to violate the Constitution, at Ottawa the Governor retrenched himself behind it and opposed their folly.

CANADA (OTTAWA)

It is difficult to hide the surprise which this return of the Ministers had caused us. Although we considered their past action simply in the light of a strike, for which a solution would possibly be found, this complete surrender of men who only yesterday showed no confidence in Sir Mackenzie Bowell fills us with wonderment. But we accept the reconstitution of the Cabinet as the best thing that could have been done under the circumstances, and we believe that the *kickers* are now sincere enough in their declaration that they will accept the whole policy of the Government.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY

AND

THE CHARTERED COMPANY

RIEL AND JAMESON

To the Editor of the *Financial Post*, London

Sir, — Were I to judge of the competency and other qualifications of your staff generally (and of yourself in particular) from the specimen of its members so well known to me, to wit, the honorable "Hugo" Blackith, I would be inevitably compelled to consider it beneath my dignity as a gentleman to address to you any reply to your bombastic and in every way ridiculous remarks on President Cleveland and the Venezuela question, but more particularly on the Transvaal troubles and the action of the German Emperor in connection therewith.

Considering your paper, however, in the light of a paid and official organ to a band of wealthy but unscrupulous financiers who are the accomplices of Jameson, and at the head of whom we may place the notorious friend of the ex-Lord-Mayor of London, yclept "His Mining Majesty," Barney the First, it is rather to them that I speak, through you.

Fearing that the limited circulation and the obscure position of your paper would not allow a sufficient publicity to your rabid elucubrations on what you call "The Mad Emperor," I resolved to reproduce in my paper your flighty article under the above heading, and I take this opportunity of thanking you for the honor you do me in placing me as a "madman" in such distingushed company as that of "The Mad Emperor."

Now, if the Emperor is mad, surely, in the name of all principles of the irresponsibility of madmen, he should not be punished as a guilty man, and

therefore you went entirely out of your way in writing the following words about the grandson of your Queen : —

The Emperor of Germany has saved the life of Dr. Jameson. Condemned to death by a jury ot Boers, President Kruger refused to sign the warrant for his execution, and ordered him to be handed over to the High Commissioner. Of course we do not presume to know what other fate would have awaited him had not the intemperate conduct of the Emperor excited our national sympathy to a dangerous extent, and summoned into existence a naval and military demonstration to dominate the position, and perhaps exact far more liberal concessions than those with which the Uitlanders might originally have been satisfied. There can be no doubt that owing to this and other considerations President Kruger resolved to spare Jameson's life. Our answer to the Emperor's telegram was embodied by the dispatch of British forces to the Cape, and for which we doubt if Kruger is too grateful to his Imperial friend. . . . .

Germans of the humblest grade had to suffer for their Kaiser's insult to the land that finds a home for multitudes of their suffering kinsmen. We mention this fact to show that the indignation aroused by his insulting threats extends from the highest to the lowest grades of our people. His *Punica fides* will never be expunged from the minds of Englishmen, rendered all the more exasperating by the hypocrisy of his bearing while accepting our naval and military honours, accompanied by the fervent hospitality and good will of prince and people. . . . . .

Here we have the spectacle of the Queen's grandson masquerading in British uniform as her fast friend when he was secretly plotting against her kingdom, and enacting the part of a royal Guy Fawkes. . . . .

Surely some of the clubs to which he belongs will disdain the membership of such a man. Not that we object to an open, honest, avowed opponent like the Emperor Nicholas, whose membership of the Naval and Military Club was an honour to both during the Crimean War, for he never came amongst us under false colours and the mask of friendship, while secretly plotting with Kruger to keep our brethren in a slavery similar to that of his own subjects, and, when he thought the moment propitious, openly to insult us. The German Emperor's expulsion from these rendezvous of English gentlemen is demanded by public opinion. . . . .

He has lowered himself as a gentleman and as a monarch in the estimation of the world, and placed himself upon a monument as a conspicuous emblem of distrust, and, what is perhaps worse, of folly. . . . .

A bug, Mr. Editor, may insult an elephant, and yet remain a bug.

But enough, sir, about you, and about your worthy *confrère* "Hugo" Blackith.

Ten years ago, I was present in New York at a meeting of French Canadians. It was after the execution of Riel. One of those present exclaimed, with tears in his eyes : "Oh, what a crime! what a murder! If there is any justice in this world. England will be punished." The punishment has arrived, and God has chosen the grandson of your Queen as the instrument of that punishment.

The German Emperor has slapped the face of England, and the whole civilised world, which condemned the murder of Riel, applauds the Emperor's action.

When I left New York, a book was placed in my hand by its publisher, Napoléon Thompson, a prominent French Canadian, from which book I will copy the inscription written for me, the title, and such other parts as I consider the most interesting.

I read the book with interest, knowing as I do the reliability of the author and of Mr. Thompson, who wrote the preface.

What the Chartered Company has done and is preparing to do, the Hudson Bay Company had then done.

I have nothing further to add but the expression of a hope that Frenchmen like Ribot, de Broglie, Whist of the *Figaro* and others will read the extracts.

It is, indeed, a singular coincidence that at that time as well as to-day Salisbury was the British Prime Minister, while Cleveland was President of the United States. Poor Riel appealed in vain to President Cleveland.

Before beginning to give extracts from the book entitled "The Gibbet of Regina" or the truth about

Canada, I will copy from *South Africa* the remarks and opinions' of a fair-mined Englishman, Mr. Reginald Statham, written before the late events in the Transwaal, which he almost prophesied.

In answer to your ridiculous insult launched at the German Emperor for his courageous and noble interference in favor of the Boers, I will cite the words of your countryman Labouchère.

"Her gracious Majesty, who wrote to her German grandson a scolding letter, should also have written one to her Scotch grandson, the Vice-president of the CHARTERED, urging him to resign and donate to the hospitals the money he made through Barnato, Wolf Joel, Lionel Phillips, the Rothschilds, and others."

I hope, sir, you will now read with attention the following extracts.

Yours, etc.,

JOSEPH ARON,
Director of *L'Or et l'Argent.*

THE
TRUTH ABOUT THE TRANSVAAL

BLACKS, BOERS AND BRITISH

FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER

By F. Reginald Statham

IN an article I contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* (then under the editorship of Mr. John Morley) in March, 1881, entitled « How to get out of the South African Difficulty, » the following passage occurred : « There is, however, a middle course, which is to take advantage of the situation to offer South Africa her independence, on certain prescribed conditions, only retaining for ourselves a naval port at the Cape. . . Why are we at the Cape at all? We seized it for Imperial purposes, and the purpose for which we seized it—the protection of our commerce, and of a useful highway to India—still holds good. Having done so, it was necessary to prevent other European Powers gaining a footing anywhere in the immediate neighbourhood... If by any means, therefore, we can retain our hold on our naval station at the Cape, and leave all the rest of South Africa to take care of itself, with some reasonable prospect of success, we shall be at once ridding ourselves of a most troublesome burden, and retaining in South Africa the footing for the sake of which we seized Cape Town at the beinning of the present century. »

Later on, in the same article, I pointed out that all the ends Lord Carnarvon had in view, when planning his scheme of Confederation, would would be more quickly arrived at by granting South Africa her independence. « Once, » I said, « let the British flag disappear »—that is, so far as internal administration is concerned—«and the ties of kinship between the Dutch settlers in every part of South Africa would draw them together to make a single mass. The movement, taking place spontaneously, could not but have its effect upon settlers of other nationalities, who would themselves naturally combine for the purpose of counter-balancing the political influence

of the Dutch party. » In other words, a progressive and commercial party would naturally be formed in constitutional antagonism to the conservative and agricultural party.

The above-quoted passages were written at the very time when I was planning, but had not written, my little book entitled « Blacks, Boers, and British, » in which attention wasdrawn, I think for the first time, to the essentially three-cornered nature of the South African problem. It is now nearly fifteen years since the book and the article in the *Fortnightly* were published. Many and various changes have during that time occurred in the commercial and political status of South Africa. Nevertheless, I hope to be able to show that, in spite of these changes, what was written in the early part of 1891 still holds good at the end of 1895, and that now, as then, the true way of escape from South African difficulties is to be found in leaving the whole country absolutely free to manage its own affairs, the British Imperial Government exercising a protectorate over the coast line in return for a naval station on the Cape peninsula.

In order, however, to make the argument intelligible, it will be advisable to go a little into the reasons that, in 1881, seemed to render such a policy desirable, and to trace the history of events in South Africa from that time downward. The reasons in favour of such a policy in 1881 were very fully set forth in the magazine article already alluded to, as well as in the pages of « Blacks, Boers, and British. » Briefly stated, those reasons may be defined as follows:—First, the difficulty which any authority in England must experience in dealing with matters of administration at a distance of six or seven thousand miles, and with conditions as to which it could only be partially informed; next, the passive resistance to outside interference likely, or rather certain, to result from the self-assertion of the Dutch party in the Cape Colony, which up to that time had been content to leave political matters alone. As regards the first of these difficulties, no more eloquent and convincing testimony could be supplied than that suppied by Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1881, in an article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* a few months later than my own article in the same periodical. This article by Sir M. E. Grant Duff was described as « an unspoken speech, » and it was stated in a footnote that the article was originally prepared as an official parliamentary justification of the policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government in respect of the retrocession of the

Transvaal. The question has often been asked why Mr. Gladstone's Government, after having first of all declined to reverse the annexation, subsequently adopted a different view. Sir M. E. Grant Duff answered that question with the most touching simplicity. « We thought », he said, « that in respect of the agitation against the annexation of the Transvaal we had to do with a malcontent minority, while really we had to do with a malcontent majority. » When a responsible official admits that the Ministry in England was completely misled upon such a cardinal point as this, what kind of hope is there that it can be well informed in respect of matters ordinary administration?

It was, then, quite apart from the questions of moral principle involved, with a view to redeeming a blunder—the blunder of mistaking a malcontent majority for a malcontent minority—and with a view to pacifying the aroused Dutch party in the Cape Colony, that, in the face of enormous difficulties, the general terms of peace were agreed to at Laing's Nek, between the British Government and the representatives of the Transvaal burghers. In agreeing to those general terms of peace, the Imperial authorities, there can be no doubt, were acting for the moment on the realisation of the three-cornered nature of the South African problem. It was felt that nothing was to be gained by declining to recognise the strength and solidarity of the Dutch element in South Africa, while there was at the same time a necessity for doing justice both to the British and the native factors in the country. The fact that the three-cornered nature of the problem was thus realised is all the more worth alluding to because the realisation continued for so short a space of time. It was as if a Colonial Office acrobat had succeeded for a single moment in balancing a pole on its end, and had then adopted the easier method of allowing its to swing back to its old position. For—and I here speak of a matter that came very curiously within my own personal experience—no sooner had it been decided that the general conditions of the situation demanded the cancellation of the act of annexation than the official organs of the Liberal Government began to argue in favour of a rigorous cutting down of the conditions of the retrocession, bringing forward in support of this view all those old prejudices against the Dutch race in South Africa which had been so largely made use of in 1879 for paving the way to the annexation of 1877. It may perhaps have been considered that this course was necessary in order to satisfy a not unimportant section of the Liberal

party, who were, on philanthropic grounds, specially interested in native races in South Africa. But, whatever the reason, the tendency was unfortunate, as it robbed the act of retrocession of its grace, and created afresh difficulties which were felt for several years after. The Commission that sat at Pretoria to settle the precise terms of the first, or Pretoria Convention—a Commission consisting of Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and the Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, Sir J. H. de Villiers—was, with the sanction of the Colonial Office, occu-
with matters which to the minds of Transvaal burghers
pied seemed redolent of bitter prejudice against themselves. The proposals chiefly discussed by the Commission were proposals that had to do with the wholesale forfeiture of territory, with the amount of outside interference in the future in native affairs, and, with the compensation due to British residents, many of whom had distinguished themselves by their bitter prejudice against everything in the country that could not claim to be of British origin. Thanks in a very large measure to the experience and influence of Sir J. H. de Villiers, the Commission rejected the most sweeping proposals of this nature. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and action of the Commission, as reflecting the policy of the Colonial Office, produced a feeling of dissatisfaction in the Transvaal which was largely justifiable, and which found expression when, later in the year, the conditions of the Convention came before the Volksraad for ratification.

The differences that were alleged—and the allegation was largely justified—to be apparent between the terms of peace as originally signed at Laing's Nek and the terms of the Proteria Convention are worth keeping in mind, because out of them sprang irritations and agitations which have exercised a material influence on subsequent events. It is not necessary at the moment to describe the discrepancies, real or alleged, between the original terms of peace and the conditions of the Pretoria Convention. The newly-assembled Volkseaad made a strong appeal direct to Mr. Gladstone on the subject—an appeal which was backed by private telegrams, pointing out that a generous answer to that appeal would have a happy result on the future condition of the Transvaal, especially in respect of the relations between « Boers » and « Blacks. » Mr. Gladstone's reply to the appeal from the Volksraad was cordial and appreciative; but, at the moment, granting nothing. It suggested rather that the Pretoria Convention should be given a trial, and held out a hope that, if it was found to work badly, it might

be afterwards revised. The members of the Volksraad were advised, by friends whom they could trust, to accept the position, and thus show consideration for the difficulties of the Imperial Government. They acted on this advice, and the Pretoria Convention was duly ratified.

This was the position at the close of 1881. It should be clear, however, that the position was not in agreement with that realisation of the three-cornered nature of the South African problem, which had, in the earlier part of the year, led to the peace of Laing's Nek. Instead of a recognition of the equal right to consideration of Blacks, Boers, and British, the Pretoria Convention contained rather a re-assertion of the perennial suspicion of the Dutch attitude towards aboriginal races, coupled with a determination rigidly to restrain the restored Transvaal Government in respect of its foreign relations. That such a condition of things should result, in the first place, from an act of national justice and generosity, and in the second place, from much tedious negotiation, caused, there can be no doubt, much disappointment to those who, while they wished to see justice done to Transvaal claims, were equally desirous of seeing the moral influence and prestige of Great Britain in South Africa established and confirmed. Certainly, there then seemed to be but little prospect of the adoption of that method of the settlement of South African matters which was commended to attention in my article in the *Fortnightly Review*. and in the pages of « Blacks, Boers, and British.» It seemed difficult to believe, however, that the position could remain at that point: indeed, so far as the Transvaal was concerned, a by no means indistinct promise had been given of a future revision of the Pretoria Convention. In the meantime, the Dutch party in the Cape Colony, encouraged by its success in influencing Imperial policy in respect of the Transvaal, was rapidly increasing in strength and coherency. It remained to be seen how far the growth of that party coupled with movements in progress elsewhere, would be able to influence the general South African situation.

The retrocession of the Transvaal having been accomplished, as far as it could be accomplished by the terms of the Pretoria Convention, it remained for both parties to that Convention to test its capacity as a working agreement. It must be confessed that the first start off was not a happy one. The question has sometimes been asked whether it was the object of the Colonial Office in London to pave the way for a revision of the Pretoria Convention by proving its unworkable nature. Such a

plan might be regarded as too Machiavellian for so honest a statesman as Lord Kimberley. Nevertheless, the official relations between London and Pretoria during the year 1882 were certainly of a kind little calculated to reflect credit on the framers of the Pretoria Convention as a workable agreement. The tone of the communications from Lord Kimberley was one of continual complaint, while the tone of the communications in return was one continual protest. It was evident that the disposition of the Colonial Office was to insist on the strict interpretation of the letter of the Convention, while the Executive at Pretoria kept their eyes rather fixed on the spirit of the terms of the Laing's Nek agreement. As regards the foreign relations of the Transvaal, the extent to which they were hampered was shown by the refusal of the Colonial Office to permit any communication between the Transvaal Government and the Portuguese authorities at Delagoa Bay, except by way of London and Lisbon. A claim made by the Transvaal to the use of the old name of the « South African Republic » was harshly repudiated. Intriguings among natives in the Republic began to be apparent, and the authorities in Pretoria were much disturbed by a very curious deputation of natives to the Government of Natal — a deputatation that got as far as Newcastle in that Colony, and then mysteriously disappeared. Apart from these matters, awkward questions, in which missionary influence was traceable, arose along the then ill-defined western border of the Transvaal, and whole Blue-books were devoted to the claims and disputes of unimportant native chiefs, whose very existence is now forgotten by the officials whose duty it then was to transcribe voluminous reports and despatches. It seemed apparent, in fact, that the old blunder of backing up natives against Dutch — Blacks against Boers — was in process of being repeated, and that a repetition of the disasters to civilisation for which that blunder was responsible was inevitable,

It was partly the dread of such a consummation, partly the general circumstances of the case, that led to the creation of the Afrikander Bond — an organisation which exercised a most important influence on the course of South African politics. The Afrikander Bond has popularly been identified with the name of Mr. Hofmeyr. As a matter of fact, however, he had no hand whatever in its inception. The real founders of the Afrikander Bond were Mr. Reitz (then Chief Justice, and subsequently President, of the Orange Free State), Mr. Ewald Esselen, now State Attorney in the Transvaal, and Mr. Borckenhagen, the

proprietor and editor of the *Free State Express.* (It is, I may point out in passing, a noticeable fact that all these three gentlemen are either of German birth or German extraction.) The main idea and object of the Bond was, in the first instance, the encouragement of a national South African feeling, and it would be no great error to describe its watchword as « Africa for the Afrikanders. » Mr. Hofmeyr, who had been mainly instrumental in founding, in the Cape Colony, the Farmers' Association, quickly saw the advantage to be gained from grafting that Association on to a wider movement, and the Afrikander Bond became an institution extending over the Cape Colony and the Free State, with a considerable number of adherents in the Transvaal, and a few in Natal. That in its earlier and more vigorous days the Bond was regarded as animated by a strong anti-British spirit there can be no doubt, and so deeply did its influence penetrate that British traders resident in the Free State found it advantageous, from a commercial point of view, to become members of the organisation. It would, however, be unfair to charge the founders of the Bond with any violent or deeply-rooted anti-British feeling. The conviction that lay behind their action — and it is a conviction which holds good to-day — was that only by the development of a true national feeling in South Africa could any South African union be brought about; and that only through the achievement of a South African union could the country be kept clear of the irritations and the disasters that had resulted from uninformed outside interference — the unhappy kind of interference that might result from a repetition of the mistake of regarding a « malcontent majority » as a « malcontent minority. »

The growth of the influence of the Bond went on, during 1882 and 1883, side by side with the growth of the attempt to involve the Transvaal Government in such complications as might justify the re-assertion of British sovereignty over the country. I say this confidently, because the general aim and tendency of what was then passing was clearly this and nothing else. The old anti-Dutch prejudice was revived and encouraged in every possible way. That the missionary element in South Africa was largely responsible for all this there can be no question; but at the same time there can be little doubt that their action was strongly, though secretly, sympathised with in official and military circles. A partial change came over the situation when, in 1883, Lord Derby, who had succeeded Lord Kimberley at the Colonial Office, manifested a disposition to fulfil the undertaking given

by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, by a revision of the Pretoria Convention. It was, however, eminently characteristic of the peculiar and critical nature of the situation that the visit to England of President Kruger at the invitation of Lord Derby was made the occasion of an organised endeavour still further to inflame public opinion in England against the South African Republic. This endeavour was made not only on the platform at missionary conferences, but in the House of Commons as well. The late Sir Robert Fowler and the late Mr. W. E. Forster, both of them most influential leaders in the counsels of the Aborigines' Protection Society, lost no opportunity of pouring out invective against the South African Republic and its President, and it is a well-known fact that Mr. Forster, in his place in the House of Commons, was merely the mouthpiece of the Bechuanaland missionary, Mr. John Mackenzie. who had at that time obtained an influence and an ascendancy which it now seems somewhat difficult to account for.

Nor was the missionary influence in England the only influence that was arrayed against the South African Republic. A movement of another kind, but really tending in the same direction, was started in the Cape Colony. At this day there are not many persons, probably, who remember much about the « Empire League, » which. commencing with a public meeting in Cape Town, spread its agitation through a considerable portion of the Colony. Yet that Empire League, the very existence of which is now nearly forgotten, professed at the time to represent popular feeling in the Cape Colony, and succeeded in misleading one of the most wary and prudent of High Commissioners — Sir Hercules Robinson — into the belief that some vigorous Imperial action against the Transvaal would be approved of by the Colonial population. The curious and unlucky incident of the hoisting of the Transvaal flag at Rooi Grond, beyond the acknowledged frontier of the Republic, afforded an opportunity for the Imperial Government to intervene in a decisive manner. The person mainly responsible for that flag incident was Mr. S. J. du Toit, who then held no more authoritative position in the Transvaal than that of Superintendent of Education; and if those whose have watched Mr. du Toit's subsequent career should conclude that he was then actuated by a mere desire to make mischief, they will not have to be greatly blamed. That opportunity having arisen, and the High Commissioner being misled as to the real state of public feeling in the Cape Colony, the Warren expedition to Bechuanaland was sanctioned, the

Cape Government, with a characteristic eye to business, taking advantage of the occasion to secure from the Imperial Government, at a low rate of interest, the funds necessary for the railway from the Orange River to Kimberley.

The incident of the Warren expedition forms a turning-point and landmark in South African history. It was essentially a British expedition against the Boer on behalf of the black; this, its main object and justification, being mixed up with other matters — for example, the « trade route » question — for the sake, perhaps, of affording a more decent pretext in the eyes of the world at large. The inspirer of the expedition was Mr. John Mackenzie, the missionary, and the breath that filled its sails came from the platforms of missionary conferences in Great Britain. The kind of justice it was likely to support received valuable illustration from the proposals put forward by Mr. Mackenzie and his friends for dealing with « freebooters, » as they were termed, in Stellaland, now better known as British Bechuanaland. If Mr. Mackenzie and his friends could have had their way, drum-head courts martial, regardless of the laws either of evidence or jurisdiction, would have made short work of persons who now receive recognition as most estimable and industrious citizens of South Africa. The military view of the situation was openly stated. It was regarded as full of possibilities, the most welcome of those possibilities being some such collision, direct or indirect, with the South African Republic as might justify more extensive military moasures.

Those, however, who entertained these views with regard to Sir Charles Warren's expedition were doomed to be disappointed. For between the despatching of the expedition and its arrival at the scene of operations in Bechuanaland, something had occurred in the Cape Colony which entirely altered the aspect of affairs. The High Commissioner had discovered that he had made a mistake, and that what he at one time believed to be an expression of the feeling of a majority in the Cape Colony was really an expression of the feeling of an insignificant minority. The noise made by the Empire League — an organisation with which, whether to his advantage or disadvantage, the name of Mr. J. W. Leonard must ever be associated — had been quite out of proportion to the forces which it represented. It was a Gideon's army of flaring lights and broken pitchers, but a Gideon's army whose daring was not justified by the result. The expedition, having arrived — a story is told to the effect that Sir Charles Warren, on

arriving at Cape Town, was asked by a sarcastic friend whether, among other things, he had brought the enemy with him — had to make an appearance of fulfilling its mission. Like the Duke of York's ten thousand men, it went up to Bechuanaland and came down again, Sir Charles Warren had an interview with Mr. Kruger; temperance principles were strongly asserted; and all was over. The expedition retired; the strong measures contemplated against the holders of Stellaland farms were abandoned; native chiefs who had been exalted into heroes were told that the quieter they kept the better for themselves; Mr. John Mackenzie set to work to write his now forgotten volumes on South Africa; and Sir Charles Warren proceeded to try those experiments with Trafalgar Square meetings which chiefly resulted in making Mr. John Burns a political reality.

The reason of the change was simple. The majority in the Cape Colony, represented by the Afrikander Bond, had declared against the policy into which the High Commissioner and the Imperial Government had been misled. What Sir Hercules Robinson had taken to be a minority was really a majority; what he had taken to bea majority was really a minority. The voice of South Africa had spoken decisively; and, because decisively, effectually. A chapter of South African history had been closed, and a new chapter opened. The end of that new chapter, however, had yet to be seen.

The two or three years that elapsed between the withdrawal of the Warren Expedition and the end of 1887 were remarkable in more ways than one. They were remarkable, to begin with, as years of commercial depression. The commercial activity that had marked the years immediately following on the settlement of the Transvaal difficulty had been succeeded by the inevitable reaction. Stocks had accumulated; demand had dwindled; and the natural result was traceable in the shrinkage in the value of imports and the falling off of customs revenue. Besides this, the diamond industry at Kimberley was in a condition of decline. Mining had become too expensive for the small companies that were in possession of the ground, and there were not wanting those who prophesied the entire collapse of the industry. The horizon was anxiously scanned for signs of a new commercial dawn, and when, in 1886, the De Kaap gold fields began to be exploited, the commercial cummunity imagined that the day of redemption had arrived.

But though this period was marked by commercial depression it was, on the other hand, distinguished by no

small degree of political confidence and hope. It was felt on all sides that the idea of a South African nationality was being realised. It was felt, to use Mrs. Browning's expression, that men throughout South Africa were "somehow brothers" since the withdrawal of the Warren Expedition and the discrediting of the missionary influences — influences applied to an entirely wrong purpose — by which that expedition had been brought about. It came to be understood that South African nationality and unity meant something, and that the once misunderstood Afrikander Bond had really done South African nationality and unity a service by protesting in so practical a manner against external interference in South African affairs. Besides this, the increasing sense of nationality, in conjunction with the necessity for facing a depressed financial position, created a spirit of courageous economy whose influence was beneficially felt in many ways. Questions of public expenditure and national indebtedness were taken in hand and discussed in an earnest and practical manner. This was perhaps specially observable in the course followed by both the South African Colonies in consolidating and converting their public debt and getting rid of unnecessary and antiquated charges connected therewith — a process no doubt materially assisted by the increasing popularity of Colonial securities among English investors. Over and above all this, however, there was the sense of national unity and national independence. The doctrines as to the natural future of South Africa which I had expounded in the *Fortnightly Review* and in the pages of "Blacks, Boers, and British," in 1881, and which had at that time been regarded with some degree of suspicion, had become not only respectable, but popular. The withdrawal of the British flag, which some extreme sections of the Bond had advocated a few years previously, was not, it is true, thought of. Nevertheless, the formation of a United States of South Africa under British protection was regarded as a possibility of the near future, and in Natal indeed, the opposition on the part of the Dutch portion of the population to proposals for Responsible Government was chiefly based on the conviction that no change in the constitution was desirable that fell short of the establishment of something like an actual Republic.

The prevalence of this feeling was acknowledged by the British Imperrial Government — or, at least, by its official representatives — in a most emphatic manner through the famous speech made by Sir Hercules Robinson when retiring from his prolonged term of service

as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner. In more recent times, it is true, an effort has been made to place a different interpretatiou on that speech, and to reconcile it with a certain new state of things that has arisen. It is, however, within the knowledge of every resident in South Africa that the speech was regarded throughout the whole country with the utmost satisfaction as an official acknowledgment of the growing feeling in favour of South African union on a basis little short of absolute republicanism. It is also a notorious fact that the references then made by Sir Hercules Robinson to the possibility of his own re-appointment were distinctly connected with his conscientious anp straightforward endeavour to give official recognition to the change that had come over the whole country through the realisation, if only partial, of a true South African ideal of unity and independence. That this change in feeling was in no sense anti-British I may, perhaps, be allowed to show by two allusions of a somewhat personal nature. On August 31, 1887, in taking leave of an editorial connection with the *Natal Witness* that had extended over more than ten years, I wrote as follows : —

" While in 1877 the British Government was doing that " which it ought not to have done, in interfering in an " untimely and injudicious manner in the internal affairs " of the country, it was, by neglecting its external interests, leaving undone that which it ought to have done. " The interests of South Africa, in its relation to the " British Empire and to great foreign Powers, were regarded with a cold contempt, as matters not worth " considering or inquiring into. The Isthmus of Suez had " been traversed by a canal; Africa had become an island; " the importance of the position once held on the furthest " extremity of the South African continent had, in consequence, dropped out of sight. The link between " England and the East lay through the Egyptian ditch, " and not over the free seas that encircle this southern " continent. Fortunately it has not been left for Englishmen to see their nation waking up, when it was " too late, to the fallacy of such a belief. The change in " favour of non-interference in domestic policy in South " Africa has been accompanied by a cha ngein favour of " a recognition of its importance to the Empire. Thus two " things that were wrong have been set right, partly " through force of circumstances, partly through the " steady growth in South Africa itself of a strong and " independent public opinion. And, naturally, with al " this has come a practical recognition of the fact that the

"South African domestic problem is, indeed, a three-"cornered one, and that it is not to be idly played with "upon this side or that at the caprice of individuals, "however well-meaning or influential. How simple a prin-"ciple it seems, after all, that in a country populated, "practically speaking, by three distinct races, equal con-"sideration must be shown for the sensibilities and for "the well-being of all!"

There is surely nothing anti-British in those sentences. And it was as the author of those sentences (this is the other personal allusion) that, when proceeding to England a few weeks after their publication, I was honoured, in passing through Cape Town, with the semi-official hospitality of the leaders of the Afrikander Bond, including Mr. Hofmeyr and Sir Jacobus de Wet (now British agent in Pretoria). The principles which I then professed remain unchanged. Into what political longitude my entertainers have projected themselves, they know best.

I do not think I am wrong in saying that the end of 1887, or thereabouts, marked the top of a tidal wave of South African unity and independence — complete constitutional independence, that is — which has since been on the ebb. It is noticeable, but I do not think altogether singular, that this ebb has been associated with a very marked advance in respect of commercial prosperity. In new countries, where prosperity comes with fits and starts, any marked progress towards wealth blunts the critical faculties, and disposes men in general to leave political questions alone. This, at any rate, is the way in which, I think, a good deal that has occurred since the date indicated is to be accounted for. South Africa, at the end of 1887, and for a short period after, was in a fair way towards the establishment of a real and living unity, under which complete independence in the administration of internal affairs, including the relations with aboriginal races, would be coupled with a full recognition of the historical rights and the commercial interests of Great Britain. At this moment such a union is indefinitely distant. Not many months ago Dr. Leyds, the indefatigable and talented State Secretary of the South African Republic, declared that South African union was hardly visible even through a telescope. No doubt he was right; for the forced absorption which is preached in some quarters could in no sense be called union.

In or about 1888 three events occurred which have together put a new face on the South African problem, and have checked the natural movement towards unity which

was apparent in 1887. These three events were (1) the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold-fields; (2) the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines; and (3) the granting of the Charter to the British South Africa Company.

The discoveryof the Rand gold-field was a thing, it may be said, which was sure to happen sooner or later. Apart from the mining questions which their discovery involves, it may be said that one of the results of that discovery was the immediate shifting of the South African centre of commercial gravity from Kimberley, in the Cape Colony, to Johannesburg, in the South African Republic. The influence of this change in the relations between the Cape Colony and the South African Republic is not to be lost sight of. When the goose that lays golden eggs is in your own garden, you may without difficulty maintain most cordial relations with your cousin who lives next door. If, however, the goose that lays golden eggs transfers itself to your cousin's garden, family difficulties are liable to arise that may lead to family unpleasantnesses.

As regards the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines, I must confess that a period of residence in Kimberley has disabled me from sharing the views of those who regard this amalgamation as the ruin of the diamond industry. I am rather convinced that some sort of amalgamation was necessary in order to save that industry. The cost of mining and the uncertainty of the market had rendered it impossible for even the largest of the old companies to work its claims profitably. It is always a debatable question whether, at a much earlier period, the Cape Government might not have stepped in, and ought not to have stepped in, and converted the diamond mines into a national property. The Cape Government, however, did not do so; it was so much occupied in spending money on railways to Kimberley that it never throught of taking any steps to preserve the industry which justified the railways. The amalgamation of the mines under one powerful company, which could both control the output and afford the heavy expenses of underground working, was the one chance of salvation for the diamond industry. It rested with the Cape Government, however, to see that the amalgamation was carried out under such conditions as were conducive to the public welfare. The Cape Government never troubled itself in the matter. And for a very good reason. It was so deeply engaged with the new prospects that had arisen in the Transvaal that it was utterly careless as to what went on in Kimberley. And hence the amalgamation was carried out under conditions that pro-

vided no guarantee whatever for the protection of local or public interests, and provided the controllers of the industry with immense sums of money for employment in further political and speculative adventures. For who does not know that it is from the Kimberley mines that the financial strength of the Chartered Company has been drawn?

As regards the granting of the Charter of the British South Africa Company, I am compelled to say that, after six years, my opinion of that act — and I believe it is an opinion very widely held in South Afreca, though perhaps not appearing to be the opinion of the majority — remains exactly the same. Going back to views expressed in print just six years ago, I must confess that I felt unable then, as I feel unable now, to understand how the British Imperial Government, exercising at the time no kind of jurisdiction in the interior of South Africa, could hand over that interior to certain favoured individuals for their sole speculative exploitation. " It will surely appear," I then wrote, " to impartially-minded persons, that since " the day when the Peruvian Inca remarked that the Pope " must be a very silly old man to give the King of Spain " what did not belong to him, no such monstrous and " fraudulent fiction has been perpetrated." I pointed out on that occasion that the interior of South Africa was the natural heritage of the people of South Africa, and that it was only through the efforts in civilisation of the people of South Africa that the interior possessed any value at all. " As a matter of natural and constitutional right," I further said, " we assert that the Imperial Government " has no right to grant any charter or to exercise any " powers in South Africa save and except with the duly- " expressed consent of the people of South Africa, and " that a charter granted in respect of any part of South " Africa in neglect and defiance of the rights and interests " of South Africans is illegal, unconstitutional, and to be " resisted by all possible means, commencing with a firm " and courageous protest."

There was no general protest, though a good deal of expressed disapproval. Had such a charter been granted in 1887 a protest there would certainly have been, on the very grounds indicated above. But in 1889 things had changed. The prospect of the new prosperity opened out by the discovery of the Rand goldfiels had drawn away public observation from constitutional questions. Everyone was going to be rich, why not let the promoters of the Chartered Company have their chance? The Cape Government was already perceiving some sort of advantage

for itself to be derived from the Charter of appropriation The people in Natal were rejoicing in the expanding trade with Johannesburg. There was no protest. To what further developments and complications the granting of the Charter might lead was to be made apparent in the following year.

We now come to a most critical period in the recent history of South Africa—the period of the irruption of the financial and speculative element into the political area. As I pointed out in a previous article, three events had occurred, about 1888 or 1889, which specially prepared the way for this irruption, viz., the amalgamation of the diamond mines at Kimberley, the granting of the Charter to the British South Africa Company, and the discovery of the Witwatersrand Gold Fields. These three events together, but especially the first two, were the means of placing in the hands of a very limited group of persons the power of influencing the South African sphere to an extent altogether disproportioned to their real stake in the country, and to the esteem in which they were generally held. Prior to 1889 it would have seemed incredible that Mr. Rhodes, assisted by three titled persons in England and a gentleman from Hamburg. should have been able to stand before the world as, in a measure, the arbiter of South African destinies. Yet this thing, incredible as it might have seemed six or seven years ago, has come about. As I think will be seen, however, it was neither the titled persons in England nor the gentleman from Hamburg that ultimately gave Mr. Rhodes this influence in South Africa. The real governing factor lay very much nearer to his hand.

A word, however, must be said with regard to the Charter of the British South Africa Company. It has been held and argued that all the Charter did was to give confirmation and solidity to a concession granted by a native chief. The argument, I think, is hardly a safe one for the upholders of the Charter to venture on. For, besides raising the whole doctrine of concessions by native chiefs, it raises awkward questions as to the manner in which the concession was obtained, the ground which it was supposed to cover, and the value of other concessions which the advocates of the Chartered Company have called in question. If the Rudd concession was valid, why not the Adendorff concession ? If, as many have alleged, the Rudd concession was granted by Lo Bengula in respect only of mineral rights, how did it come to be stretched so as to cover territorial rights? Then there is the unpleasant fact that the guns which represented the purchase

price of the Rudd concession were conveyed through and out of the Cape Colony in direct defiance of a Colonial Act. It has been whispered, indeed, that the sin of placing lethal weapons in the hands of a native potentate was in a measure condoned by supplying him with car ridges which would not fit the rifles; but this is doubtless a fiction circulated by envious persons. As regards the question of concessions in general, it was the weakness of the Adendorff concession, as of the Rudd concession, and every concession of a similar kind, that they are opposed to public polity. It was on this ground that the Ministry of which Mr. Rhodes is the head opposed, quite recently, certain concessions granted in Pondoland — concessions which the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony declared to have been granted in perfect good faith and for valuable consideration. No; those who seek to justify the existence of the Chartered Company on the basis of a concession will find they have a singularly unstable foundation to build upon. They will be safer if they keep to the ground of absolute Imperialism. even though they are thus brought in contact with the difficulty of explaining how the Imperial Government could give away what it did not iself possess.

The leading feature of South African discussion during the last five years has been the antagonism between Mr. Rhodes, as representing the Chartered Company and the Cape Colony, and Mr. Kruger, as representing the South African Republic. It is asserted that in this antagonism Mr. Rhodes represents the spirit of progress and the interest of the alien population in the South African Republic, while Mr. Kruger represents a stubhorn and obstinate anti-English conservatism, which will yield nothing, and seeks to absorb everything. Let us see, then, what was Mr. Kruger's attitude at the end of 1889 and in the beginning of 1890, before the antagonism between the Chartered Company and the South African Republic became apparent.

The complaint has been made, not once, but frequently, that President Kruger is hostile to the gold industry, and anxious to place every obstacle in the way of those who are engaged in it. What are the facts?

Towards the end of 1889, before the summer rains began, the new town of Johannesburg was threatened with a famine. Stocks were running low; the population had outrun the normal supply of provisions; and the drought in South Africa generally rendered conveyance by ox-wagon — then the only method of carrying goods to the Transvaal — expensive and uncertain. Praying for

rain may mean much or little ; but, whether it means little or much, the Pretoria Government set the example in this direction, and gave the hint to other South African Governments. It did more than this. It notified its intention of paying bonuses to those transport riders who hurried on their wagons to Johannesburg. In the following year, in dread of a repetition of the famine of 1889, and with the view of defeating the plans of certain merchants who regarded a famine as an opportunity for themselves, the Pretoria Government imported cargoes of flour from Australia at the public expense, somewhat to the disgust of traders who had found the famine of 1889 profitable.

Prior to the session of the Volksraad in 1890, the Pretoria Government had arranged to propose three new and most important reforms in the interest of the new industry and the new population. These were:

(1) The construction of railways;
(2) The reform of the gold law;
(3) The extension of the franchise.

These were reforms proposed by Mr. Kruger as the head of the more conservative party, and as being, in fact, the one man whom the conservative party would trust to lead them forward. Without Mr. Kruger's influence, the more conservative party would never have consented to these reforms. The construction of railways was agreed to by the Volksraad with acclamation. The reforms in the gold law were carried through so successfully that the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg passed a warm vote of thanks to the Government and the Volksraad. As regards the extension of the franchise, it would have have been absurd to expect this to be accomplished at one stroke. Political reform of this kind is always slow. In the only interview I ever had with him—in April, 1890—President Kruger explained his views clearly enough. « The Second Volksraad, » he said, « is intended as a bridge, to get over the time that will elapse before we can place the new comers on the same footing as the original burghers. » Everyone must admit that that was a sensible and liberal and statesmanlike view to take of the position. All these new proposals, owing largely to Mr. Kruger's influence. were agreed to by the Volksraad ; and that in spite of the fact that the conduct of a few irresponsible rowdies at Johannesburg, in hauling down, or cutting down, the Transvaal flag on the occasion of President Kruger's visit to the town, had given increased strength to the ultra-conservative party in the Volksraad. Having regard to the strength of this conservative feeling in the Raad, and having regard also to the special obstacles that had been

created by memories of the British annexation, and by the flag incident at Johannesburg, it would, I maintain, be difficult to imagine what more liberal treatment could have been accorded, in that year, by the Transvaal Government and Volksraad, to the interest of the foreign population.

It was just at this point that the irruption of the financial and speculative element became apparent. In March, 1890, Mr. Kruger had been to meet Sir Henry Loch, the then newly-appointed High Commissioner, at Fourteen Streams, on the borders of the South African Republic and the Cape Colony. At that interview Mr. Rhodes, still only an ordinary member of the Cape Legislative Assembly, was present. To those who looked on there seemed to be no reason why that interview should be otherwise than perfectly friendly, and it was believed that at the interview the question of the future of Swazieland would be discussed. It is certain that Mr. Kruger returned to Pretoria well satisfied with his conference with Sir Henry Loch, and prepared both to allay the irritation against aliens that had been aroused by the Johannesburg flag incident and to give his hearty support to reforms in favour of the gold industry. The Volksraad met, and proceeded cheerfully to work. And then suddenly, in the midst of the general satisfaction with the legislative and political outlook, the public became aware of the fact that the relations between the Republic and the British Government were severely strained, that ultimatums and similar warlike threats were hanging in the air, and that unless a *modus vivendi* were speedily agreed upon, a second war between the South African Republic and Great Britain was a certainty of the immediate future.

The astonishment created by this discovery—and as I was then residing in Pretoria, I can bear witness to the astonishment—was partly increased and partly diminished when the terms of the document known as the Swazieland Convention were made public. The astonishment was partly diminished because it became plain how much there was in that document which the Pretoria Government was bound to resent. The astonishment was partly increased, because it puzzled people to understand how a Government which professed to be friendly could put such a pistol to the head of the South African Republic. Not only was everything demanded of the South African Republic, and nothing given but a distant and indefinite promise to settle the Swazieland question, but even this distant and indefinite promise was made to depend on the immediate granting to the Cape Colony of concessions

which it was premature, in a local sence, to discuss. It must be said with deliberation that no document more one-sided, more tyrannical, more calculated to lead to a complete breach of all friendly relations was ever presented by one Government to another. It may be added that popular feeling in the South African Republic very speedily acquitted the British Imperial Government of all real participation in the business. Everyone said:— « This is Rhodes, who, having gathered his experience by domineering over the people of Kimberley, and having at his elbow an inexperienced High Commissioner, imagines that the same game can be played towards the South African Republic. » That this view was correct was shown by two significant incidents. First, the cordial hospitality shown about the very same time by the British garrison at Maritzburg to General Smith, the Vice-President of the Transvaal; and next, the absolute refusal of the High Commissioner to entertain a proposal to allow the matter to be discussed in London with the Imperial Government direct. It is, perhaps, only fair to surmise that the then High Commissioner relied entirely on Mr. Rhodes, who by that time had succeeded to the Premiership of the Cape Colony, and that Mr. Rhodes acted in entire ignorance of international courtesies and diplomatic decencies. The fact remains—and it is a fact of the utmost importance—that, owing to this incident, the irruption of speculative and financial influences into the area of South African politics came to be associated in the minds of all sincere Afrikanders—all who held to the principles so generally accepted in 1887—with a deliberate attempt on the part of those influences to tyrannise over the Republics of South Africa by the aid of the Imperial power of Great Britain. And this conviction was rendered all the more bitter by the reflection that such a design should become apparent at the very moment when the South African Republic, through the action of its Government and its Volksraad, had given proof of its sincere desire to consult the interests of the new population of the country.

It is this incident of the Swazieland Convention of 1890 that forms the beginning of present sorrows in the South African Republic, and, through the Republic, in South Africa at large. The unjust nature of the demands made upon the Republic is indicated by the fact that the articles in the Convention by virtue of which it was attempted to force Cape products upon the Republic, were, after the Convention was ratified, suspended by mutual consent. And here a very interesting question arises as to

the part played in this business by Mr. Hofmeyr. Mr. Hofmeyr has received the thanks of the Imperial Government for what he then did. His friends have declared more than once that he undertook his special mission to the Transvaal, knowing that he would thereby forfeit the confidence of his friends in that country, in order to put an end to a state of tension which was threatening to involve South Africa in a renewal of devastating hostilities. Such a statement must be received with respect, though to not a few minds it will seem that it is better for a popular statesman to retain the confidence of his friends than to receive the thanks of a Government. A question, however, which requires to be answered is this —who created the critical situation which Mr. Hofmeyr sought do disarm? The conditions of the Swazieland Convention of 1890 were conceived at Cape Town in the interest of a Premier who had succeeded to office through the support of the party of which Mr. Hofmeyr was the leader. The specially obnoxious articles inserted in it— the articles subsequently suspended—were framed in the interest of Mr. Hofmeyr's followers, the winegrowers of the Colony. Is it conceivable that Mr. Hofmeyr was never consulted upon these matters? Or is it conceivable that if, having been consulted with regard to the conditions of the Convention, or having become aware of them, he had exercised his political influence with Mr. Rhodes, and, through Mr. Rhodes, with the High Commissioner, the Convention would ever have been presented to the Transvaal Government in so obnoxious a form? There is some secret history surrounding these questions which ought to be told; for until it is told Mr. Hofmeyr, who may yet aspire to be a South African leader, lies under a suspiçion which may be altogether unjustified.

An effort must next be made to show how the bad effect produced in 1890 by the incident of the Swazieland Convention was increased by the occurrences of the following year.

» It was neither the titled persons in England, » I remarked in my last article, « nor the gentleman from Hamburg, that ultimately gave Mr. Rhodes his influence in South Africa. The real governing factor lay very much nearer to his hand. »

The nature of the real governing factor became apparent in the year after the incident of the first Swazieland Convention — that is, in 1891. The real governing factor was the section of the Afrikander Bond which specially looked to Mr. Hofmeyr as its leader, and which chiefly represented the views and interests of farmers in the

Western Province of the Cape Colony. It was this section of the Bond which, by deliberately forsaking and betraying the principles which the Bond was originally organised to support, placed in the hands of Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company the power to ignore and override the constitutional and national rights of South Africans, and further gave him the power to call in to his aid that Imperial power of Great Britain which the Bond, as at first constituted, had vowed to resist and to disarm. This section of the Bond played the part, in fact, of a South African Judas. Whether it has yet received, or ever will receive, the thirty pieces of silver is a matter of doubt.

The claims put forward by the Chartered Company in 1890 to exclusive possession of the interior of South Africa were by no means accepted by South Africa at large. The view generally held was very fairly expressed by the *Natal Mercury* — an essentially English journal — in an article which appeared in its columns on May 18, 1891.

« So far as concessions are concerned (said the *Natal* « *Mercury*), we do not suppose that the Company's rights « are a bit more tenable than Mr. Adendorff's or Mr. « Vorter's, or than those of any other white man whose « enterprise and pluck may have led him to exploit native « territories and to trade on the credulity of native chief- « tains. It would have been a much more honest policy « had the Imperial Government at once laid its hand on « the sphere of influence, annexed it, and, by virtue of « the sovereign powers thus assumed, conceded to the « Company whatever rights and privileges might have « been agreed upon. Theoretically, the Chartered Company « has robbed South Africans of a right which had hitherto « been uncontested — that of falling back upon the « interior, and of seeking and founding new homes there. « From the earliest days of European settlement, this right « has been exercised. The much-talked-of « trek » is « nothing more than the operation of a natural law that « has prevailed throughout South Africa for three centu- « ries. That law has been rudely set aside by a great « speculative Company, and it will be solely responsible « for any consequences that may ensue from its arbitrary « attempt to arrest a natural process. »

This view, so judiciously and moderately expressed by the *Natal Mercury* in May, 1891, was the view held throughout all South Africa in the earlier months of that year. South Africa repudiated altogether the idea of exclusive possession claimed by the Chartered Company. During those months the organisation of a gigantic « trek »

into the countries north of the Limpopo was a matter of general discussion, and towards the end of March the programme of the « trek » was published. The « trek, » it was then stated, was to include as many as five thousand men capable of bearin garms, collected from every part of South Africa. It was to assemble on the southern bank of the Limpopo between May 15 and May 31, and was to cross the river on June 1 for the purpose of proclaiming the « Republic of the North » on the following day. If this movement had proceeded from the Transvaal only, it might not have been so important. Its leaders, however, included men of position from every part of South Africa, the Free State and the Cape Colony not excepted, while the Afrikander Bond, which was just then holding its annual congress in Kimberley, was known to favour the movement rather than oppose it.

There can be no question that the organisation of this movement placed the Chartered Company in a most critical position. The Company was seeking to recommend itself in the eyes of British investors. It was with a view to this end that, just about the same time, it engaged in that most extraordinary enterprise against Portuguese authority in East Africa which found expression in the unsuccessful attempt to smuggle a shipment of arms from Port Elizabeth into the hands of native chiefs in Portuguese territory. In the interest, doubtless, of the titled persons to whom the Charter was granted, this little adventure was smoothed over as much as possible by the Foreign Office. At the same time the Company was given plainly to understand that it would not be allowed to involve Great Britain in European quarrels. If the « trek, » as planned, had been carried into effect, the attempts of the Chartered Company to assert jurisdiction over Matabeleland and Mashonaland would have been wiped out. Something had to be done in the interests of the Company, and had to be done quickly. The plan adopted was to detach from the rest of the Bond the section specially controlled and guided by Mr. Hofmeyr, and to use this section as a weapon against the rest of South Africa in general, and against the South African Republic in particular. What arguments were used to induce the leaders of this section of the Bond to come to the aid of the Company is, doubtless, best known to themselves. The argument used openly was that, as it was intended that the Cape Colony should be exclusively benefited by the operations of the Company, it was the interest of the Cape Colony to assist the Company in keeping all intruders out of its alleged domains.

The development of the northward movement was

clearly recognised by the end of March, 1891. During the month of April the process of converting what may be called the Hefmeyr section of the Bond was undertaken, and by the beginning of May President Kruger, acting under the strongest pressure from the High Commissioner, issued the proclamation by means of which he was said to have « damped the trek. » With characteristic unfairness, it was made to appear by the apologists and supporters of Mr. Rhodes as though the only persons who wished to « trek » northwards were Transvaal burghers, the fact being that large numbers of would-be « trekkers » — probably the majority — came from the Cape Colony and the Free State. No matter, however, where they came from, the Transvaal Government was to be held resposible for their actions. And in whose interest was this oppressive action adopted towards the South African Republic? In the interest of the Cape Colony, which, through the action of the Hofmeyr section of the Bond, now stood shoulder to shoulder with the Chartered Company in seeking to coerce the rest of South Africa by means of the Imperial power and authority. It was the Hofmeyr section of the Bond that did it. Had that section stood staunchly to the Afrikander principles of a few years earlier, had it not been seduced from its South African allegiance by promises of a special and exclusive interest in that interior which was by geographical position and natural right the inheritance of all South Africa, the Chartered Company must have collapsed, and with its collapse, or even prior to that collapse, the power of Mr. Rhodes, as Premier of the Cape Colony, must have vanished. The new situation created by the conversion of the Hofmeyr section of the Bond was very well described by the *Natal Mercury* (from which I will again venture to quote) in an article published, I think, about May 4, 1891. A passage in this article ran as follows : —

« If the public mind is upset to-day—if social fermenttation has set in amongst the European communities, it « is because the Cape Colony has arrayed itself against « the rest of South Africa; because the Cape Govern« ment has, through the voice of its chief rulers, claimed « to dominate the policy and sway the destinies of South « Africa; because the people of the Cape Colony have « identified themselves with the fortunes of a great spe« culative Company, whose aims and interests have neces« sitated ressort to violent and disruptive processes. Had « it not been for the Chartered Company there would be « no excitement at this moment. The Pugwe route, the

« Beira incident, the great trek, the High Commissionner's « proclamation, the declaration of rights. Mr. Rhodes's « speeches, and Imperial military preparations, would all « have been unknown quantities. »

The intensity of the antagonism created between the Cape Colony and the South African Republic at this juncture was illustrated, I may remark in passing, by the ill-feeling that sprang up between Cape Colonists and Transvaalers in the Pretoria clubs. It was a common expression with the former that « the Cape Colony will not inferfere to stop another Warren expedition, » and in one instance (one of the actors in which has since died) an appeal had to be made to a Club Committee to prevent hard words from proceeding to something more serious.

Thus for the second time, in 1891 as in 1890, the irruption of the speculative and financial element into the political area—the influence of the « great speculative Company whose aims and interests necessitated resort to violent and disruptive processes »—created division and bitterness between South African populations. and contributed towards the obliteration of the sense of unity and nationality apparent in 1887. The betrayal of these high interets, moreover, did not come from inside. Had it not been for the seduction of the Hofmeyr section of the Bond —a seduction effected by means of promises the fulfilment of which is still in the far-off future—Mr. Rhodes and the persons of title in England and the gentleman from Hamburg would have been able to effect nothing, even if backed by the whole power of the Imperial Government. The constitutional brake would have been applied through the Cape Parliament, as it was applied in the case of the Warren expedition; the settlement of questions in the interior would have been left in the hands of South Africa generally; and the Chartered Company would have been left with its Charter and nothing else. That it was worth the while of the Chartered Company to pay heavily to avoid such a collapse will be obvious. What it paid, and in what shape, will never. probably, be publicly known; but that the Hofmeyr section of the Bond was subjected to Mr. Rhodes's favourite process of « squaring » no reasonable person can doubt.

If it should be askel in what manner the question of the interior could have been dealt with, save by and through the Chartered Company, the answer is simple. It could have been dealt with by the Imperial Government declaring its sovereignty over the country, pending the reference of tho whole question to a joint commission

from the four leading South African States. What created so strong a feeling throughout unsquared South Africa was that South Africa's heritage should have been handed over to a speculative Company. The declaration of British sovereignty over the British « sphere of influence » would not have aroused nearly so strong a feeling. In a conference I had at that time in Pretoria with the representatives of a very influencial body of proposing « trekkers, » chiefly from the Free State, I advised them strongly to petition the Imperial Government thus to proclaim its sovereignty, and the fact that I gave this counsel is perfectly well known at the Colonial Office. The suggestion was considered, but was finally rejected on the ground that, though it might have a good deal in its favour, it was « too British. » Whether the representatives of the « trekkers » were right or wrong in thus deciding it would be difficult now to say. The natural and logical sequel to such a step would, to my mind, have been the friendly reference of the whole question by the Imperial Government to the four South African Governments, a course which might well have led to the appointment by those four Governments of a joint commission to deal with it. Experience has shown that South African Governments are always ready to welcome and consider any reasonable proposal made in good faith, having for its object the settlement of a South African difficulty. The suggestion is still at Mr. Chamberlain's service, and he may yet find it useful when, some day or other, the blind following of Mr. Rhodes has led the Colonial Office into a *cul-de-sac*.

At the end of 1891, or the beginning of 1892, the antagonism between the Cape Colony and the South African Republic had undergone some amelioration. It had been realised in Cape Town that, although a domineering attitude towards the Transvaal might be good business for the Chartered Company, it was anything but good business for the Cape Colony. The Cape Government saw that something was to be made for the Colony out of the railway traffic to Johannesburg, and sent up Sir James Sivewright to allay the annoyance and irritation caused by the Swazieland Convention of 1890, and by the « trek» business of 1891. The result was a Railway Convention, by virtue of which the Cape Colony was enabled to secure almost immediate railway connection with Johannesburg, and was thus further enabled to divert from Natal the greater part of Johannesburg traffic. From the beginning of 1892 to the end of 1894 it was «bad business, » from a Cape Town point of view, to quarrel with the Transvaal. There was room to hope for

many things. There was room to hope that the construction of the railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria might collapse. There was room to hope that sanction for the extension to Johannesburg of the Natal railways might still be withheld. In the meantime the Cape Colony was reaping the result of its perfectly legitimate enterprise in pushing forward its railway system. The receipts on the Cape Colony lines, as well as on the line constructed at the expense of the Cape Colony through the Free State, grew and increased. It was, however, hardly possible that the Cape Colony should retain such a monopoly of the Johannesburg trade. It was neither the policy nor the interest of the Transvaal Government to keep the Natal railways permanently out of the country or to cease to prosecute and promote the construction of the line from Delagoa Bay. By the beginning of 1895 the Delagoa Bay line was opened for traffic throughout its whole length, and the construction of the line from Natal had been sanctioned. The realisation of these facts in the Cape Colony was coincident with movements and reports which seemed to point to an intention on the part of the Cape Government to force the situation by a seizure, with the assistance and support of the Imperial Government, of the Portuguese harbour at Delagoa Bay.

The plan, whether seriously contemplated or not. was never carried out. The reports were still flying about in the air when the appearence of German men-of-war at the anchorage off Lourenço Marques showed that a new factor had been introduced into the South African problem. To state the position in a few words, the continued and open hostility of the Chartered Company and the Cape Government, identified with each other since 1891, had driven the South African Republic to seek, not ineffectually, the protection of another European Power.

The appearance of German men-of-war at Delagoa Bay marked the arrival of a new factor in the South African problem. Those who, at the time, ventured to point out the meaning and significance of this arrival were ridiculed. Events, however, have proved that they were in the right.

There are two questions which have been asked, and which are still asked, possibly, by those who would minimize the importance of German intervention. "What," they ask. "has Germany to do with South Africa? And "how can an almost autocratic State like Germany give "its support to a Republic?" Those who ask these questions surely show themselves to be unmindful both of past and present history. They have surely forgotten that it was

autocratic France that supported the revolting American Colonies against Great Britain. Autocratic France doubtless had its own ends to serve in supporting rebellious colonists. Autocratic Germany may have its own ends to serve by supporting againsf Great Britain a Republic whose independence was fully acknowledged no later than November 6 last, when the Minister Plenipotentiary in Europe of the South African Republic had his place, in his official capacity, at a public dinner only four seats distant from that of the principal guest on the occasion, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. If a question were asked as to the nature of the German interest in the South African Republic and in South Africa generally, the answer would be that it is a commercial interest. German capital is largely invested in the Transvaal; German manufacturers are more and more finding their way through all South African ports; a German line of steamers is doing excellent business with Delagoa Bay and Natal. It is part of German policy to back up German enterprise. It is not the trade that follows the flag — a British maxim which circumstances have discredited again. *It is the flag that follows the trade;* and as a result of this policy German influence is now the overruling factor in South Africa, coming in to adjust the balance whenever things seem to be going adversely for ths interests of the South African Republic. Everyone will remember how, following closely on the appearance of German war-vessels off Lourenço Marques, there came an announcement that an agreement had been arrived at between England and Germany for the maintenance of the *status quo* at Delagoa Bay, And how does Germany acquire this influence in the matter? Surely the answer to this question will be very plainly visible when consideration is given to the possibilities of European politics. Suppose, for example, Germany were to side with France against England in respect of the Egyptian question? And there is another means by which Germany maintains its influence in the Transvaal — viz., by the employment, in its relations with the Transvaal, of first-class diplomatic capacity. While the British Agent in Pretoria seems to deem it his duty to act as a perpetual blister on the Government to which he is accredited, the German Consul-General, a gentleman of the greatest ability and courtesy, is a *persona gratissima*. Naturally, German interests are advanced, wherever it is possible, while British interests suffer.

I wish to draw attention in the most emphatic manner to this growth of German influence in the South African

Republic and in South Africa as the most marked and certain result of the policy of "speculative Imperialism" represented by the Chartered Company and its supporters. Mr. Rhodes has been spoken of as "an Imperial Englishman," — whatever that may mean — and I am assured that, owing to the belief that he has opened new markets for British manufactures, the commercial community in London is on his side. But what is the real truth? Nothing less than this — that no one has done more than Mr. Rhodes, the "Imperial Englishman," to increase in South Africa the political influence fo England's most formidable commercial rival. And the best of it — or perhaps the worst of it — is that no one in South Africa, not even Germans themselves, want to see the political influence of Germany increased. Germans in South Africa prefer the freedom of British Colonial institutions to the ideas of colonisation which find favour in Berlin, while the Dutch farmers themselves are far more akin to the Anglo-Saxon than to the Teuton, though, perhaps, most akin to the Scotchman. If, however, the interests of the South African Republic are unfairly dealt with from Cape Town, no one can possibly blame the Republic for seeking support wherever it is attainable. It is sometimes said that Germany is not going to quarrel with England on behalf of the Transvaal. True; but then, on the other hand, England is not going to quarrel with Germany on behalf of the Chartered Company and Mr. Rhodes. It needs but a very slight effort of memory to recall the fact that it was Germany that intervened on behalf of Portugal after the affair at Massi-Kessi, and that it was in consequence of the intervention of Germany that Mr. Rhodes received a gentle admonition from the Foreign Office to mind what he was about.

It is a melancholy admission to have to make that while the moral influence of Great Britain in South Africa is declining, the moral influence of Germany is advancing. It is all the more melancholy because such a state of things is not only quite unnecessary, but is quite undesired by the great mass of the European population of South Africa. I must repeat what I have said on many occasions, and what I shall never be tired of saying — that throughout South Africa, not excepting the Transvaal, and in spite of recollections of the annexation, there is a strong feeling of friendship and political kinship with Great Britain, and that British historical and commercial interests in South Africa need fear no rivalry from anywhere, if only that feeling is allowed a fair chance. For the last five years, however — ever since the incident of

the Swazieland Convention in 1890 — it has not had a fair chance. The relations between Great Britain and South Africa, and especially between Great Britain and the South African Republic, have been distorted by the "great speculative Company, whose aims and interests" — as the *Natal Mercury* so well put it — "have necessi-"tated resort to violent and disruptive processes." The resolve of that great speculative Company to call in the British Imperial Government to its aid whenever it is necessary to score a point against the South African Republic, no matter how trifling the occasion, creates a situation which is detrimental to British interests in South Africa in several ways. There is, for example, the intervention of the Imperial Government in what is known as "the Drifts Question." What was at the bottom of that question? A paltry local dispute between two railway administrations over a railway rate — a dispute which could have been settled long ago if the Cape Government (identified with the Chartered Company through the personality of Mr. Rhodes) had taken the advice of its own skilled servants, the managers of its railway system. Is it to be supposed that this business will be forgotten? And is it to be supposed that it will render any more easy of solution problems in which foreign residents in the Transvaal are naturally interested?

What are those problems? They are traceable in the complaints made from time as to the position of foreigners in the Transvaal. For example, complaint is made that the Transvaal Government lives at the expense of the gold industry, and complaint is made that foreigners residing in the country are not allowed to have any share in its government. As regards the first of these complaints, I have often, when in Johannesburg, asked those who complained to show me how they were taxed unfairly, and never could obtain an intelligible answer. The mining laws in the Transvaal are really exceptionally liberal. While the Chartered Company claims 50 per cent. of the proceeds of every mine, the Transvaal Government does not even claim a royalty. The Customs tariff, as compared with the tariff in force in many British Colonies, is very moderate. I have never heard a complaint from any business man in the Transvaal that obstacles are placed in the way of his carrying on his business. As for the charge that the Transvaal lives on the gold industry of Johannesburg, why, all South Africa lives upon it. The profits on the whole of the Cape railway system are earned from the Johannesburg traffic, and if it were not for that traffic the Cape Government would be compelled to resort

to heavy direct taxation, commencing, in all probability, with a tax on diamonds. Natal lives to a considerable extent on the Johannesburg gold industry, and is anxious to live upon it still more. Delagoa Bay is in the same position. What, therefore, is contended for by those who make the complaint is this — that while every other South African State it at liberty to live on the Johannesburg gold industry, the State in which the industry is carried on must exercise a severe self-denial, and decline to participate in the general prosperity. Such an argument is too ridiculous to be called monstrous.

Then there is the complaint about the non-representation of foreign residents. Now I must say deliberately, that this complaint is largely factitious. There are foreigners of all nationalities in the Transvaal — Germans, Jews, Americans, Frenchmen, as well as British subjects. Neither Germans, nor Jews, nor Americans, nor Frenchmen are ever heard complaining. Nor are these complaints met with in the street or among men who have business to do. They are promoted and circulated, at irregular intervals, by men either hailing from or closely connected with the Cape Colony. In former days, there was a certain section of Irish members of Parliament who, by reason of their political opinions, were known as " the Pope's brass band." The men who promote the clamouring for political rights in the Transvaal might very well be spoken of as "Mr. Rhodes's brass band." Still, the situation is undoubtedly an exceptional one, demanding some kind of relief. But what is chiefly standing in the way of that relief being afforded? Nothing else than the visible determination on the part of the Cape Government, identifiel as it is with the Chartered Company, to drag in Imperial intervention on every possible occasion. If the majority in the Tran vaal Volksraad are inspired with the fear that the *uitlander* is not to be trusted, the fault rests with the Cape Government and the Chartered Company. What renders the members of the Volksraad all the more suspicious is the claim made on behalf of British subjects to become naturalised burghers of the Republic while still retaining their allegiance to Great Britain. Naturally, the members of the Volksraad say : — " How are "these people, in the face of what we see going on, to "be trusted? How do we know that they are not seeking "to vote away the independence of the country? They "may say they have no such intention, but we must "judge by what we see passing. And what we see is that "these people, who clamour most loudly for political "rights, are the very people who do not hesitate to cal

"in the British Imperial Government to coerce us when "they cannot get the better of us in argument."

I state the position thus frankly because it would be useless to state it in any other way. Beyond this, stating it in this way serves to emphasise the assumption from which I started, viz., that, in 1895 as in 1881, the true way out of South African difficulties is to be found in the rigid exclusion of all outside intervention and interference. If it should be urged that outside interference, as represented by the Chartered Company, has been instrumental towards a more speedy opening up to commerce of the interior of the continent, I should answer that nothing has been done in this direction that could not have been done just as well, in a commercial sense, by the friendly co-operation of all the South African States, and that by such co-operation it could, in a political sense, have been done much better. For the future, the best hope lies in the repentence either of the Imperial Government or of the Hofmeyr section (as I have called it) of the Afrikander Bond. If the Imperial Government were to say, "We "intend to abstain from all intervention in the internal "affairs ef South Africa," or if the Hofmeyer section of the Bond were to say, "We intend to revert to the posi- "tion of 1887, to restore the solidarity of the Dutch popu- "lation throughout South Africa, and to insist on the right "of South Africans to settle their own disputes, and to "direct their own affairs" — if either of these things happened, the present tension in South Africa would disappear in a moment, and questions which are causing doubt and irritation would settle themselves with an ease which would surprise those who are preaching the doctrine of irreconcilability. More than that, by the adoption of such a course the moral influence of Great Britain in South Africa would be confirmed and rendered permanently dominant, such confirmation of moral influence carrying with it a full recognition of the commercial and historical interests of Great Britain in the country.

And now all that remains for me to do is to tender my best thanks to the editor of *South Africa* for his kind hospitality in inviting me to express, through these columns, my views on the present situation in the country from which this journal takes its name. The opinions expressed, it will be understood, are my opinions, and not his. From his point of view it is quite possible that they may appear somewhat heretical. Nevertheless, there is this to be said for them — that they are, I believe, the opinions held by a very large pro-

portion of the European population of South Africa. And perhaps the fact that those who hold these opinions are not much in the habit of giving expression to them may seem to give more reasonableness to my attempt to put them into print.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE GIBBET OF REGINA

Published by Thompson and Moreau, New York

A Monsieur Jos Aron,

témoignage d'amitié d'un Préfacier cosmopolite, qui aime la France comme vous, et qui n'a d'Anglais que le nom,

N. Humphrey

New York, le 16 mars 1886.

PREFACE

New York, November 17th, 1885.

My Dear Mr. Thompson :—

All is over!

Louis David Riel is no more!

Universal history counts in its pages a new bloody episode.

Henceforth the 16th day of November, 1885, will be for French Canadians the date of the basest insult ever inflicted upon their nationality, their race, their faith, and their dignity.

Humanity and civilization have been laughed at and odiously outraged by Sir John A. MacDonald and his Cabinet. Justice has been baffled. Orangeism has won the day. You were still doubting a few days ago that the fiendish hatred of the *mephistophelic* Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada would dare follow to the end his mortal designs against Riel. To-day, doubt is no longer possible; Riel has paid with his head his ardent love for his country.

You have asked me to put down in writing some facts I mentioned to you in our last conversation.

Be it so!

You will find in the manuscript herewith my frank and candid opinion on this painful affair, and the narration of facts I have witnessed during the five years I lived in Manitoba.

Use what I now send you to the best of your judgment, and whatever you do with it, rest assured that I am only too happy to join my voice to the general imprecation aroused by the brutal execution of the French Half-breed Louis David Riel.

Very respectfully,

One Who Knows.

To the American public :

The above letter I received a few days after Riel's execution. Like a great number, I had hoped against hope, that what has taken place could and would have been avoided. But it appears that every friend of justice and humanity was fated to a sad disappointment; none could have anticipated that blind hatred would have prevailed against the unbiassed and unanimous opinion of the whole civilized world.

After a careful reading, I decided to publish, in the form of a book, the manuscript referred to, because it is based upon

undeniable facts; because those facts and occurrences are vouchsafed for by men who have closely followed the transformation of the Canadian North-west into a conglomerant of the Dominion of Canada.

These pages, to be sure, are written with great vehemence of language; but how could it be otherwise? The writer saw, felt, and comprehended. Suavity of language could not adequately have painted criminality organized into a system.

Be that as it may, the American reader—conscientious, searching, and logical by nature—will find, in these pages, matter to reflect upon.

On the one hand, he will find short-sighted policy, criminal indifference, and cowardly animosity, all combined to crush vested rights, ignore solemn and oft-repeated pledges, and violate all those principles of humanity that are recognized and respected by all nations having any claim to be called civilized.

On the other hand, the American reader will find an isolated and circumscribed but spirited race—the victim of unmitigated outrages and base misrepresentations—fighting against large odds for the revendication of their rights and the protection of their homes and families.

Far from me the thought of making any invidious observation to the American public about the *prima facie* similitude between Washington and Riel's career.

Both were apostles of human rights! Both were arrayed against the same secular arbitrarism! Both fought the same implacable despotism!

But here the similitude ceases! And why?

Because Washington fought and conquered with the help of Frenchmen!

And because Riel succumbed and was defeated by the help of an American Administration!

How consoling to be able to logically remark: That governments are invariably responsible to the people, but that the people are not invariably responsible for their government!

In the presence of a freshly-sealed coffin, words of bitterness, to be sure, are out of place. But I beg to ask you, Americans, when you were struggling for existence; when, later, on, piratical expeditions were organized and launched from the Canadian frontier (with the knowledge of Sir John A. MacDonald, who was then, as he is now, the Premier of the Canadian Cabinet) against peaceable American villages; when you called to arms, not alone your native-born citizens, but all mankind, in the defence of the grandest political institutions known to ancient and modern times, who answered your cry of alarm?

Assuredly not the men represented by the party in power at Ottawa, to whom President Cleveland has so courteously given the right of way on American soil, for the transportation

of arms and ammunition, in order to enable the bitterest enemies of the United States to annihilate the Half-breeds who were following in the footsteps of your forefathers!

To one misguided Orangeman, or, better, to one strayed Tory disciple of Sir John A. MacDonaid—who was omnipotent at Ottawa then as he is to-day—that fought for the preservation of this glorious Republic, thousands of sympathetic French Canadians can be námed, who nobly and disinterestedly upheld the flag. The conflict made tombs in our nationality, and we are proud of it. Your final success threw dismay in the official circles at Ottawa, as well as in the ranks of Orangeism; but an American Administration has just been found to assuage Toryisms bitter disappointment by making amends for all that!

What is all the trouble about? Let us take a retrospective view of the matter.

The French Canadians discovered and settled the country they live in. Embroiled in a struggle not of their seeking, and over which they had no control, they were shamefully abandoned and finally sacrificed to the sensual proclivities of a *king who had more love for the gown of a courtezan than for the the flag of France.* Notwithstanding, they secured, first by treaty, and compelled, later on, through legislation, the granting of all those rights which Riel and his Half-breed brothers sought to revendicate, because they had been systematically trampled upon by the Ottawa Cabinet.

The Half-breeds are the descendants of those hardy French Canadian pioneers, whose love of travel and discovery took them into the wild prairies of the North-west, where they finally settled into a semi-hunting and semi-agricultural life—following, in this last occupation, the customs and the idiosyncracies of their ancestors, who had made a garden of both banks of the St. Lawrence.

These Half-breeds belong to that race of energetic men who were the first settlers of the Western States, at a time when colonizing in those wild prairies meant something more than breaking the ground and raising a crop for shipment to Eastern ports; moreover, they are the kindred of those courageous pioneers who have either christened or given their own names, to the most important cities of the West.

They are acknowledged to be a hospitable, mild, peaceable, and law-abiding people. Selfishness is unknown to their vocabulary; with them, faithfulness, providency, and thrift are heirlooms which have never been bartered by the humblest of the race.

Like the French Canadians, they were settled upon a soil which their ancestors had discovered and fertilized with the sweat of their brows. Like yourselves, foreign to all sentiments of jealousy, they invited all men of good will to settle in their

midst, with the moral and legislative guarantee that uprightness, irrespective of creed or nationality, was all that the State sought for; and morally and constitutionaliy, the State has no business nor right to seek for anything else.

When we, French Canadians, sent out such a generous and untrammelled invitation, we did not expect, nor did we have in view, to borrow the prejudices, the intolerance, and the rancors of past ages. This vast continent has no room for such cast-off clothes.

But, what did we get in return for our broad and generous hospitality?

An arrogant and dictatorial oligarchy, bent on perverting the sacred aims of justice and legislation, and which, with the view of making itself omnipotent, transplanted to our virgin soil hatred as repulsive as it was unnatural; excited, between co-existing races, national animosity; concocted intolerance of creeds, and finally, to crown its diabolical monument of infamy, exacted the head of a son of the soil who had had the temerity to protect, against oft-admitted unjustifiable spoliation, the roofs that sheltered his countrymen and his own family.

NAPOLÉON THOMPSON.

New York, January 1886.

THE TRUTH ABOUT RIEL

The Metis have indeed been an ill-fated race for many years. For a long time before the purchase, in 1869, of the territorial rights, by the Canadian Government, from the Company of Adventurers of England (better known as the Hudson Bay Company), they were the direct means of the making of that immense and incalculable fortune which placed the Hudson Bay Company at the head of the most powerful corporations in existence,

Hunting and trapping was their only resource. The stores of the numerous posts of the Company were at all times overflowing with valuable skins brought in by the Half-breeds. The rich furs of every description were bought by the Company's officers at ridiculously low prices; the trading scheme was carried on in a most lively manner: a bank-note, a few pounds of flour or salt pork, a small keg of gunpowder and shot, a common suit of clothes or an incomplete outfit could secure a quantity of valuable skins worth one hundred times the trifling cost of the articles given in exchange, and the Hudson Bay Company was able to supply yearly all the European markets with immense quantities of furs thus bartered from the poor victimized Metis·

This, taken in a certain light, was, of course, very natural and nothing more nor less than a straight business transaction. But when that wide and rich country became exhausted, when the buffalo had almost completely dieappeared, when the otter, marten, beaver, ermine, and all the other fur-bearing animals of its regions were becoming scarcer every year, the Hudson Bay Company's authorities thought of ridding themselves of their no longer valuable possessions by selling their territorial rights to the Canadian Government, and the transfer was accomplished without the knowledge of the Metis.

They were only Half-breeds after all! Why should the Government or the Hudson Bay Company take the trouble of apprising them that they had been sold and bought like live-stock?

But this simple, inoffensive, and peaceful people understood that no Government, no power on earth had the right to buy a population composed of Christians like a lot of living beasts! They instinctively saw danger for their homes, wives and, children in that arbitrary Canadian invasion; they perceived that their rights, as men living on free American soil, had been ignored and violated. Riel, whose education and natural intelligence had placed him foremost among his fellow-countrymen, was chosen as their leader, and the entire Metis population took up arms to prevent the Canadian Government from entering the country.

Mr. McDougall, the first Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Dominion Cabinet, was stopped with his staff at Pembina, and was obliged to retreat and return to Ottawa without even seeing the seat of his government.

Was Riel a rebel then? If so, it must be confessed that his rebellion had a noble and generous aim: that of defending the land of his birth against an unwarranted invasion; of protecting his countrymen, his sister and mother, nay his father's grave, against an arrogant enemy!

The Red River Expedition.

A Provisional Government was formed by the Half-breeds and took its seat at Fort Garry. Riel was unanimously elected President. Resolutions were passed, engrossed, and presented to the Canadian Cabinet. These Resolutions did not receive the least attention.

By this time the Cabinet of the Dominion plainly saw that something had to be done. An expedition was decided upon and four thousand men were soon ready to start for Manitoba.

The expeditionary corps was composed of a regiment of re, gulars, a battalion of Quebec rifles, a battalion of Ontario rifles, a sufficient number of engineers, and a complete commissariat.

Colonel Wolseley, afterwards Sir Garnet Wolseley, and now Lord Wolseley, was appointed Commander in Chief of that military *picnic*, wihch was called the Red River Expedition. After making a considerable number of *portages* and running numerous *rapides* he landed in Winnipeg with his troops at the end of August. 1870.

Riel and his followers had left Fort Garry and the British territory before the gallant Colonel's arrival, probably because they felt that their cause was a lost one, or, perhaps, because the young leader recoiled at the idea of exposing his country and his people to the horrors of a long and bloody civil war. However, Colonel Wolseley found that Fort Garry had been abandoned by the Metis, and the first thing he did after arriving in Manitoba was to issue a proclamation, apprising the population of the Province that he intended to deal unmercifully with the banditti (*sic*) who had dared to resist the authority of his Gracious Sovereign, the Qneen of England.

And thus ended the Red River Expedition, which cost several millions of dollars to the Government that ordered it. But, of course, for the accomplishment of so glorious an undertaking money was no object! Were not the good Canadians rich enough to pay, without murmuring, for what has since proved to be a sinister blunder ? Taxes came in more regularly than ever. It was the people's money that was paying for the fun, and, most painful to say, French Canadians were made to help with their money a military expedition organized for the purpose of pitilessly oppressing their Half-breed brothers in Manitoba.

These heroic Half-breeds, these simple but honest sons of the wild prairies, who had formed a defensive alliance in order to protect their country, their wives and children, their own blood in fact, were called « banditti » by the representative of the very government that had bought them as the planters of yore bought a plantation with all the human flesh on it!

And here are the wonderful arguments put forward by Sir John A. MacDonald and his Cabinet :

These contemptible *half savages*, who know nothing but to hunt, and whose too slavish hands had been for years the gigantic and inexhaustible cornucopia that filled the large and numberless coffers of a company of adventurers from England, had had the audacity to protest like *men* against the violation of their so-called rights!

These ignorant half Indians, these French Metis, as they called themselves, who could but fervently pray to their God, tenderly love their families, and live without ever thinking of doing any harm to their neighbors, had dared to reject tho protectorate of a government which, after their submission, would be only too willing to throw to them a small piece of and , like a bone to a famished dog!

They were only despicable human beings after all, and they had the impudence to reject this opportunity of being blessed by the contact of an iron-handed civilization !

What a monstrosity !

No pity for them !

Christ died for all and every man: what of it? They were made in the image of their Savior, it is true, but they were only ignorant beasts!

Bring them to submission, not by kind words or persuasion, but by force; they must bend or break !

On to them ! Shoot them down like wild and ferocious animals! Kill them !

And after the bloody work of civilization is done, if some of the remaining miscreants dare to refuse homage to our benevolent Sovereign, a few planks, a rope, and the sheriff will do the rest !

A pamphlet

A few months before the Red River Expedition was organized, a much-to-be-regretted occurrence took place in the Province of Quebec.

The Right Reverend Alexander Taché, then Bishop of St. Boniface (Manitoba), and since elevated to the archbishopric, published a pamphlet in which he strongly advised the young French Canadians not to take any active part in the projected campaign: The soil of Manitoba was a poor one, offering but lttle chance for improvement, the rebellion had not a serious character, and all the trouble would soon end, etc., etc., etc.

This pamphlet, containing such or similar advice, emanating from a most and justly venerated prelate, was freely distributed among French Canadians, and mostly all of the Catholic priests in the Province of Quebec preached and recommended to their parishioners the advisability of following the worthy Bishop's counsel.

The effect of the pamphlet can easily be imagined. When the recruiting of the two battalions of volunteers began, a comparatively small number of French Camadians were enlisted. These battalions, each about 600 strong (1,200 in all), did not count in their ranks, when formed, over 150 French Canadians, that is to say, eighty-eight per cent. of the effective volunteer force were English Canadians, mostly from Ontario.

Each and every one of these men was to receive, as compensation, 160 acres of land, after the expiration of his military term, and ninety per cent. of them settled in Manitoba. Thus the British element dominated in the Province after its submission, and it has been so ever since 1870.

It is not in the least probable that Archbishop Taché ever

thought for an instant that his pamphlet would have such a a lamentable effect against his own people, and far from me any idea of blame or reproach for the venerable Bishop's action. I sincerely believe it was dictated to him by a commendable conviction; but one thing is certain, indisputable: Manitoba and the Saskatchewan have been from the start, are yet, and will remain under the complete control of Canadians of English origin, and that portion of the Dominion is lost for ever to the French Canadian supremacy.

Here come naturally two questions which would be very hard to answer, but offering, nevertheless, a wide field for reflection: Had the Province of Manitoba been ruled by a strong majority of the French Canadian element, would the last insurrection have taken place? And, if it had taken place, *would Riel have mounted the scaffold at Regina?*

I leave to the intelligence of the eminent and patriotic French Canadian politicians the care of meditating over these questions, and of finding a plausible solution to them.

Thomas Scott

The execution of Thomas Scott, ordered in 1869 by the Pro visional Government of Manitoba, has been the chief accusation brought against Riel by Upper Canada.

Scott was an Orangeman, and his co-religionists have found in his execution inexhaustible food for their hatred against French Canadians, or anything that is Catholic. The merciless pressure they have exercised over Sir John A. MacDonald previous to Riel's execution, is convincing evidence that the fanaticism and bigotry so bitterly reproached to Catholics in Canada are far more intense among Orangemen, who have never as yet lost an occasion to manifest it loudly!

Thomas Scott was far from being the good-natured sort of a fellow his Orange friends have tried to make believe. On the contrary, he was a rough character. He had threatened Riel's life on several occasions, and he was certainly known as capable of carying his threats into execution. I know as a positive fact that Riel himself was opposed to Scott's execution, even after the sentence had been pronounced. I know also that he tried his utmost to save him, but his intervention was accorded no attention by his followers.

All those who knew Scott well (and I have been brought into contact with many of them) agree in saying that Riel's life was in immediate danger so long as Scott was allowed to go free around the country.

This case was one of self-defence, nothing else.

The probabilities are that I will never go back to Canada. I expect no favor whatever from any party or parties. I have no

more preference for the French Canadians than for English Canadians. I shall certainly never ask for anything from a Canadian source. My religious sentiments are of no consequence in this matter. I am not writing this in order to win or obtain the good will of certain people. I care not if my opinion is shared or endorsed by ten men or then thousand men. A bloody deed has been accomplished. I know all or nearly all the parties that have been directly or indirectly connected with it, and what comes from my pen is dictated to me by my own conscience, and by my own conscience only. I write all I know, and express the opinion I have formed after having heard and seen.

Public opinion, humanity, and the Christian world will judge which of the two men is the greatest murderer, the vilest, criminal — Sir John A. MacDonald, K.C.B..... a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council for the Dominion of Canada, the modern Machiavelli and Supreme Ruler of one of Queen Victoria's colonies, the old, decrepit, and unscrupulous statesman who has already one foot in the grave, or Louis David Riel, the young, energetic, and heroic Halfbreed who at the age of twenty-six took up arms for the defense and protection of his native land, and who sixteen years after died bravely for its cause, without even cursing the name of the man who had plotted and ordered his death?

The troops in Manitoba

After the arrival of the Canadian troops in Manitoba, August, 1870, the country soon quieted down and the establishment of the Canadian Government went on steadily under the able direction of Mr. Archibald, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Province.

The first battalion Ontario Rifles, composed almost exclusively of English Canadians and Orangemen, was quartered at Fort Garry, that is to say, in the midst of the French Half-breed settlement; and the second battalion Quebec Rifles, in whose ranks were the 150 French Canadian Volunteers, was sent to the Stone Fort, twenty-two miles distant, and surrounded by the English population of the Province.

Was this arrangement a wise one? I hardly think so, and the numberless scenes of horror that soon followed prove that the contrary would have been far better! But, the Commander in Chief, Colonel Wolseley, the same who almost commenced his military career in Manitoba, and who recently ended it *so gloriously* in the Soudan, had ordered that it should be so, and so it was!

Here, a very strong and very peculiar analogy strikes me as being worthy of remark : Wolseley was sent to Manitoba with positive instructions (no doubt) to hang Riel, and he could not

accomplish his mission, *he arrived too late!* Fifteen years later he was dispatched to the Soudan at the head of a strong and imposing army, with orders to rescue General Gordon, and there again *he arrived too late!*

He had only a small army when he went to Manitoba, and, save myriads of mosquitoes, found nobody or nothing to fight with; he went back to Engfand a great victor, and he was made a General and a Sir. Later on he was made a Lord!

When he went to the Soudan, he had the command of a large army, and there at last he found a chance to fight. But this time the enemy proved a trifle tougher than mosquitoes, and the result was (notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary published at the time by the English press) defeat after defeat, and a double-quick retreat.

The worst of it all is that poor gallant General Gordon never saw the radiant face of his would-be rescuer — and who can tell that it was not Wolseley's incapacity and slow action that caused Gordon's death?

Victorious when he had nobody to battle with, Wolseley was thrashed ignominiously when he met the soldiers of the Mahdi. He was successful in Manitoba with a small body of troops without firing a single shot, and he called his invisible enemy « banditti. » In the Soudan, when commanding thousands of well-armed men, he was most shamefully beaten. Nevertheless, he returned to England, and was received with cheers. His next reward (?) will be a Duke's title, and he will change his name from LORD MOSQUITO WOLSELEY to that of DUKE KARTOON TOOLATE!

And, of course, he will duly modify and improve his ducal escutcheon, and place prominently on it the livid and bloody head of brave General Gordon.

Atrocities committed by the Ontario volunteers

The Red River Expeditionary Corps was three months on its way to Manitoba, from Collingwood to Winnipeg. The soldiers, regulars and volunteers, did not receive a penny during the journey. Five or six days after their arrival, they were paid in full, giving each man an average of twenty dollars.

It was then that the lugubrious fun commenced. Those men who were supposed to be kept under the rules of strict military discipline went around Winnipeg and vicinity, infuriated and drunk, yelling, swearing, cursing and threatening. They were looking and searching for the murderer of Scott. They unmercifully insulted and assaulted the Half-breeds who had been imprudent enough to come to town in order to attend to business. As yet there was no police force organized. Those soldiers, clad in the uniform of Her Most Gracious Majesty,

became intoxicated and delirious brutes. They insulted women and children, beating most cruelly every Metis unfortunate enough to cross their path. They often entered isolated houses where they found defenceless women and children. The outrages they committed on many occasions are too revolting and too horrid to be put down in writing. All this was perpetrated in the name of their God and King William of Orange, and remained utterly unnoticed by the superior officer commanding at Fort Garry, Colonel Jarvis. He smiled complacently and indifferently at all these atrocities, more worthy of cannibals than of soldiers whose duty was to keep the peace and show moderation and good example. Who knows but good Colonel Jarvis regretted perhaps keenly, and *in petto,* that he was too old to take his share in the sanguinary sport.

And, in the evening, after entering their barracks (if they were not too drunk to breathe) these fearless and defiant warriors recounted with delight and touching pride their prowess of the day.

However, the defaulters were never brought up to the orderly room to receive the punishment of their repulsive exploits.

And why should they be punished? Pshaw! Nonsense! The men they had left half dead on the ground, the women and young girls they had cowardly outraged, the children they had so cruelly beaten, were only French Half-breeds, nothing but French Half-breeds!

If my readers, whomsoever they may be, think I am exaggerating facts, I will humbly ask them to inquire into the veracity of my statements from such men as Governor Archibald, A. M. Brown, Dr. O'Donnell, Premier John Norquay, Dr. Bird, Honorable J. H. Clarke, Governor Donald A. Smith, Honorable Capt. Thomas Howard, Honorable Judge Dubuc, John McTavish, etc., etc. All of these gentlemen (except Mr. Archibald) are still living in Manitoba, and I beg to observe that the majority of them were hostile and opposed to Riel and his party.

While all these violences were perpetrated in Winnipeg by the members of the 1st Batallion of Ontario *spadassins*, the 2nd Batallion of Quebec, under the command of Colonel A. Casault, was peacefully barracked in the Stone Fort, and but a few cases of insubordination were ever brought to the attention of Governor Archibald.

Now, let us suppose for a moment that Colonel Wolseley had detailed the 1st Batallion for duty at the Stone Fort, and the 2nd Batallion at Fort Garry, what would have been the result of such disposition?

Any honest, sensible, and impartial mind can readily answer the question. If English-speaking soldiers had done duty among English-speaking settlers, they would undoubtedly have pulled

together most admirably; and if French-speaking volunteers had been quartered in the midst of the French-speaking population, none of the ferocious deeds above related would have taken place.

But perhaps Colonel Wolseley had received instructions to act as he did, and Sir John A. MacDonald had reasons of his own in giving such orders.

Half-breeds dispossessed by Ontario speculators

A few months later, the Dominion Government succeeded in quieting the Half-breeds by a grant of 240 acres of land to each one of them living in Manitoba, as a compensation for disturbing the old river frontage system.

Here commences a period of hidden and calculated persecution and base speculation of another order.

As soon as the decision of the government was known through the Province, speculators started their work of monopoly. They commenced by making friends with the Metis; they attracted them and watched their presence in town. The tigers and the lambs of the day before met in the bar-room and drank together. The scheming speculators purposely treated their intended victims generously. Many of the Half-breeds, unsuspicious of what was going on under hand, fell into the snare, and very often, when under the influence of liquor, sold their claims for a mock remuneration. I have known intimately well-established citizens of Winnipeg, who succeeded in buying Half-breeds' titles (240 acres) for twenty, twenty-five, and thirty dollars. Some of those speculators canvassed the country from Portage La Prairie to Pointe du Chêne, and by some means or another came back from their trip the lawful possessors of large and extensive tracts of land.

In 1871, during the Fenian invasion headed by O'Donahue, Riel, strongly prompted by Archbishop Taché, offered his services to the Government to help repulse the invaders. Governor Archibald crossed the Red River and met the banished leader in front of the cathedral of St. Boniface. Riel's offer was accepted, and on the same day he went scouting around the country with two hundred of his men.

The invasion amounted to nothing anyway, and order was soon restored throughout the country.

Riel elected member of the House of Commons

Shortly afterwards, Riel was unanimously elected a member of the House of Commons for the District of Provencher.

He went to Ottawa, and was regularly sworn into office by

the Clerk of the House. Hearing of his presence in the city, infuriated Orangemen swore to slay the ex-rebel leader. Riel was then advised to leave Ottawa, and the day after his departure, his seat was declared vacant.

This is a striking instance of the weaknsss or bad will of the government. Here is a man who had been lawfully and unanimously elected a representative of the people, and who was prevented from taking his seat after being duly sworn into office. Not because his election was declared fraudulent, but because a mob of fanatic Orangemen threatened his life if he dared to resume his duties as a member of the House of Commons. The Government of the Dominion, instead of protecting him as a Deputy, weakened before the threats, and yielded to the vociferations of a bloodthirsty oligarchy.

All of this has taken place in the nineteenth century, in a country belonging to the British Empire, and whose Constitution is under the protection of the English flag!

Ah! if Riel had been an Orangeman, Sir John A. Mac-Donald would have called out the whole strength of the Canadian Militia.

If, instead of being a poor and simple Half-breed, Riel had been the dictatorial and wealthy representative of an Orange county, he would have taken his seat, even at the cost of twenty, fifty, or one hundred lives and in spite of all the protestations of the whole Catholic Canada. But he was only a modest and uninfluential Metis, who had dared to resist the autocratic commands of the mighty Prime Minister, and his life would not have been safe, even on the floor of the House of Commons, where the majesty and greatness of Great Britain is so pompously represented by the most unscrupulous and most omnipotent statesmen of the Dominion.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF PERSECUTION.

Let us recapitulate the principal facts that took place in Manitoba since 1869, and see if the Metis had sufficient reasons to protest against the acts of the Government which had treated them with such unwarranted contempt.

1869

On the 29th of July 1869, after hearing of the transaction that had taken place between the Canadian Government and the Hudson Bay Company, the French Half-beeds held their first meeting at St. Boniface.

Resolutions were passed and a Committee was appointed to inquire of the Hudson Bay Company's officials what the population of Manitoba was to expect from the sale of the country to the Canadian Government. The members of the Committee were laughed at by the Company's officers.

These people were only asking what would become of them and their families, when under the control of their purchasers. Their humble and just request was scorned with disdain.

On the 19th of October, Honorable Wm. Mc Dougall, the Lieutenant Governor appointed by the Ottawa Cabinet, was on his way to Winnipeg; he was forbidden the entry of the Province by the Half-breeds, who insisted upon knowing what would be their lot before allowing the Canadian Government's representative to enter the country. Mr. Mc Dougall thought it advisable to retreat, and he returned to Ottawa.

On November 3rd, the rebels (?) took possession of Fort Garry, the most important post of the Hudson Bay Company, and on the 8th of December, the Provisional Government was organized and Riel elected President.

1870

On the 7th of January, 1870, seeing that things were getting serious, and that the Metis, so long ignored, were not disposed to allow themselves to be swallowed up without protesting most energetically, the Canadian Government asked the mediation of Bishop Taché who was known to have great influence over his people.

The Right Reverend Bishop kindly consented to act as mediator between the Government and the rebels (?) and on the 16th of February, Sir John A. Mac Donald officially authorized Bishop Taché to proclaim, in the Cabinet's name, a full and general amnesty, and to promise the Metis the entire and energetic protection of the Government.

While this was taking place, and at the time when the whole difficulty was about being settled, Major Boulton, pretending to be an authorized representative of the Government of Canada, endeavored, with about 200 men, to take Riel prisoner. Riel rightly saw in this occurrence a direct and outrageous violation of the amnesty that had just been proclaimed, and decided to accord no more confidence to the promises of Sir John A. Mac-Donald, until futher consideration.

It was shortly after — March 4th — that Thomas Scott was executed. I have already said, and I now repeat, that Scott deserved his fate, and I defy any living man, who has positively known what sort of a desperate character Scott was, to consciensciously put forward the argument that his death was not a measure of public safety; and I will go further, in saying that

only those who have an object in calling that execution a cold-blooded murder can deny the fact that this deed was on Riel's part, as I said before, absolutely a case of self-defence.

After his arrest and before his trial, Scott was asked several times to leave the country, he persistently refused, and he said openly on several occasions that he should remain in Manitoba until he had put a bullet through the brains of that. . . . . of a French Half-breed Riel.

He was advised by his own friends to keep quiet and wait patiently, like the other people of the Province, for the re-establishment of peace and order. No, he insisted upon « having that bastard's life. »

Liquor had made of Scott a mad and dangerous being; and in Manitoba as well as anywhere else, when one meets a venomous snake, the best thing he can do is to crush its head.

The Orange press has said, again and again, that Riel's government was not legal, that the court that had tried and sentenced Scott had no jurisdiction or authority, and that consequently his execution was a murder.

But let us see:

Had that government *de facto* been organized and formed by the people?

Unquestionably yes!

Had Riel the right to appoint a court of justice to try a felon?

Undeniably yes!

And had that court of justice the right to pronounce a sentence?

Undoubtedly yes!

I know full well, that what precedes will create an uproar among a certain class of people — the red-hot apostles of William of Orange, for instance — but I shall, nevertheless, insist upon this point: Scott was deserving a severe and exemplary punishmant, and in supposing that Riel and the members of his government took a great responsibility upon themselves in allowing him to be put to death, the following puts an end to all arguments about this charge:

On the 24th of June, 1873, Lord Kimberly, Secretary for the Colonies, in answer to an official request, signed by Lord Dufferin, then Governor General of Canada, notified the Dominion Cabinet that the Imperial Government had granted a full amnesty in favor of Riel and his followers.

What can remain to be said now? If in reality Riel had committed manslaughter in 1869, which hypothesis is very questionable, he was fully pardoned in 1873 by the Imperial Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

On the 9th of March, 1870, Bishop Taché returned from Ottawa, and in the name of the Imperial and Dominion governments

promised a complete amnesty to all the insurgents in general, and to Riel and Lépine in particular, and a full pardon for ALL OFFENCES committed during the insurrection, *including the execution of Scott.*

On the 24th of the same month, Father Ritchot, Judge Blake, and Mr. A. Scott were sent to Ottawa as delegates for the Metis, and they came back to Manitoba on the 17th of June, reporting that Lord Dufferin and Sir Clinton Murdoch had given the assurance, in the name of Her Majesty, that the amnesty would be *pleine et entière!*

On the 12th of July, Bishop Taché received a letter from Sir George E. Cartier, Minister of Militia, corroborating and confirming the statement of the delegates with reference to the entirety of the amnesty.

On the 24th of August, the troops, under command of Colonel Wolseley, arrived at Fort Garry, and in spite of all the peaceful and solemn assurances of the Ottawa Government, the Commander in Chief issued the proclamation spoken of previously, calling « banditti » the men who had received, five months previous, the assurance of a full pardon by the Imperial Government.

Who was guilty of this abominable treachery ? The Imperial Government ? The Dominion Cabinet ? or Colonel Wolseley ?

1871

On the 3rd of October, 1871. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald issued a proclamation asking for volunteers to repulse the Fenian invasion. Forgetting how cruelly they had been wronged, Riel offered his services and those of his followers to the Government.

Mr. Archibald accepted his offer and reviewed the Metis volunteers at St. Boniface. Riel immediately started with two hundred men.

In an official letter addressed to Sir John A. MacDonald, Mr. Archibald frankly stated that the loyalty shown by the entire population of the Province, and the success he had met in protecting it against the Fenian invasion, was entirely due to the policy of moderation he had adopted toward the Metis. His letter contained the following passage, which we shall leave to the appreciation of impartial and well-thinking people : « Had « the French Metis been pushed to extremities, O'Donahue, the « Fenian leader, who had been a member of Riel's government, « and who had many friends among the Half-breeds, would « have been joined by the whole population of the country « situated between Pembina and the Assiniboine River, the « English portion of the Province would have been plundered, « and the English settlers massacred to the last. »

Were Riel and his followers confirmed and irrepressible rebels after all?

Did not their loyal course in this predicament prove that, had the members of Sir John A. MacDonald's Cabinet understood better the people they had so long and so grossly wronged, they could have in them the most faithful and reliable subjects in the Dominion.

Fair and proper treatment would have for ever made them staunch and true to the British Crown.

But they never got such treatment at the hands of the Canadian Government, and the last blow they have received in the execution of Riel has irrevocably severed any possible and amicable tie with his executioners.

On the 27th of December of the same year (1871) after a full and complete amnesty had been proclaimed, after Riel and his Metis had proved that they were willing to redeem the past, Sir John A. MacDonald found a new way to cowardly insult the leader of the Metis. In a confidential letter addressed to Bishop Taché, he apprised him that he had adopted a new and friendly policy regarding Riel.

In that letter was a check for $1000 to be given to Riel on condition that he would leave the country, and go to the United States.

I need not say that the check was refused.

This new and bitter insult was bravely swallowed by the Metis chief, and the next humiliation was patiently looked for.

1872

The beginning of 1872 was full of sad events for Riel.

The Orange element, stationed at Fort Garry, commenced their nightly excursions towards St. Vital, the parish where Riel lived with his family.

The young Metis leader had been pardoned by the Imperial and Dominion governments, but not by the worthy companions of Scott.

They frequently visited the house inhabited by Riel's mother, and insulted most unmercifully that old and defenceless woman. They tried to obtain from her, by force, the name of the place where her son was living. They threatened to fire the house; they even went so far as to beat her.

The general elections of 1872 throughout Canada were in a great many respects a surprise to the political world of the Dominion.

Sir George Etienne Cartier was defeated in Montreal East, which he had represented so long in the House of Commons.

Mr. Jetté, his opponent, won the election.

Sir George E. Cartier found himself without a seat in Parliament, and the Cabinet of which he was the most prominent member with Sir John A. MacDonald was, by that fact, placed in a very critical position.

Riel had been nominated in the county of Provencher, Manitoba. Hearing of Sir George's defeat in Montreal, he generously resigned in his favor, and thanks to that act of self-sacrifice, Sir George E. Cartier—upon whose following rested the existence of Sir John A. Mac Donald's administration—found a seat, without which he could not continue to be a Member of the Ministry.

I really fail to see if such conduct was that of an inveterate rebel, and Sir John A. MacDonald ought to have remembered it before placing the rope in the hands of the sheriff at Regina.

The elections in Manitoba were the occasion of the most revolting scenes of savagery and cruelty ever witnessed in a civilized country.

Orangemen of Winnipeg turned out in full force.

Before casting their votes, they had, according to an immemorial custom, been generously supplied with liquor.

Armed to the teeth, they went around the town preventing the Half-breeds from voting.

Frank Cornish was their leader.

Arbitrary judicial dicision

After the death of the much regretted Sir George E. Cartier, Riel was again elected by acclamation for the same county of Provencher, but as I have mentioned before, he could not take his seat, simply because Orangemen were opposed to his presence in the House of Commons, and the Government was too cowardly to sustain him in his rights.

On the 15th of October, without the slightest motive or reason, Riel was declared an outlaw by the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba.

I defy any living man to bring forward any argument that can justify such a severe step on the part of justice.

Yes, there was one reason for that unqualified decision of the Court—only one : Riel was a French Half-breed.

On the 12th of February, 1875, another amnesty was issued in favor of Riel and Lépine, on condition that they would leave the Province of Manitoba for five years.

After residing for a while in the Province of Quebec, Riel traveled in the United States, and he finally settled in Montana in 1879, where he succeeded in finding a position as teacher in an industrial school.

In 1881, Riel married Miss Marguerite Bellehumeur, the daughter of a French Métis living near Fort Elliot. The four

years that followed his marriage were undisturbed years of happiness for the Metis patriot, who, although quite young, had already experienced man's bitter cruelty and persecution.

Loved and respected by all those who approached him, or lived near him, he soon succeeded in gaining great popularity among his new neighbors. They knew of his agitated and tormented life, and they had an opportunity to see—notwithstanding all the hatred he had been subjected to—that he was really worthy of the deepest sympathy and respect.

They saw in the man who had been treated like the vilest criminal a model son, a loving and devoted husband, and, later on, a fond and affectionate father. They had heard that Riel was an excitable and hot-headed revolutionist, but since he had joined their community he had always shown the greatest obedience to the established laws and a strong liking for peace and order.

They knew that this man had been banished from his native country like a despicable renegade, but from the day of his arrival in their midst, he had proved to be possessed of the soundest and purest religious principles.

The years 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, and the beginning of 1885 formed the happiest epoch of Riel's life.

Far from all outside influences, he devoted all his time and attention to his family, and to the duties imposed upon him by his position as a teacher.

Wat led to the rebellion of 1885

From 1875 to 1884 a great number of French Half-breeds, dispossessed of their lands by the speculators who had infested Manitoba during these nine years, left the Province for the Saskatchewan, and established themselves in that new territory.

There, the persecution they had experienced in Manitoba continued more lively than ever. Those of the Metis who had taken a homestead wherein to place their families were driven out by people who pretended they had regularly purchased the same properties from the authorities in Ottawa or Winnipeg.

Half-breeds were pursued and chased from place to place, and lived under tents or wigwams.

Poverty and starvation soon overtook the oppressed population. While speculators were getting wealthy, and building comfortable houses and opulent establishments, these poor victims of rapacity and extortion were living with their wives and children as well as they could.

It has often been said in the United States that one of the blackest spots in American history is the way in which Indians were treated through the cupidity of venal Indian agents.

The extortions perpetrated openly in the Saskatchewan by Upper Canadians and Englishmen will leave upon their name an indelible stigma of abject knavery and sharp practice. The Ottawa Government was often informed through reliable sources of all that was going on in the North-west, but never paid the slightest attention to the warnings.

Prominent people, conscious that a threatening storm was fast approaching, implored the Ottawa Cabinet to take immediate measures for the relief of the much-abused and starved population of that part of the Dominion.

The guilty indifference shown by Sir John A. MacDonald and his Cabinet towards Manitoba and Saskatchewan since 1878 had often roused the indignation not only of the French Half-breeds, but of the entire population of the two Provinces as well. The provincial governments were often called upon to remonstrate with the Canadian Ministers for their unqualified neglect concerning the affairs of the North-west territories.

Deputations were often sent to Ottawa and returned pacified with promises.

But these promises were forgotten as soon as made. No longer than one year ago, the agitation in Manitoba became somewhat alarming.

Indignation meetings were held in which the question of annexation to the United States was seriously discussed. The Honorable John Norquay, Prime Minister for the Province of Manitoba, was sent to Ottawa with an ultimatum addressed to the Cabinet, and came back partly satisfied that Sir John A. MacDonald would at last do something.

As yet I fail to see what has been done, but as the last rebellion has absorbed the whole Dominion, since its beginning (March, 1885), the local governments of the two north-western provinces seem to have forgotten their griefs for the time being.

In January, 1884, I met two gentlemen who had just returned from Regina and Winnipeg. They assured me that no pen could describe the state of things in the North-west. The suffering and misery of the Half-breed population were beyond description.

People were actually in a starving condition and at the mercy of the Mounted Police force and the mercantile element. Provisions and supplies of all kinds were sold at exorbitant prices, and the treatment of the French Metis, at the hands of the authorities, was something atrocious.

They condemned most bitterly the criminal indifference of the Government officials and prophesied an imminent and terrible outbreak.

These gentlemen were sincere in their statements; Europeans by birth, and free from all partisanship, the impartiality of their judgment cannot be questioned.

Riel's happy home in Montana

In 1884, Riel was living happily in the midst of his family, in Montana. For three years he had carefully kept himself aloof from political circles God had blessed his marriage and had made him the father of two beautiful children.

The love he bestowed upon his wife, his son, and his daughter won the admiration of all who knew him. The man whose heart had been convulsed by an agitated life was gradually recuperating under the unbounded attachment and devotion of the young wife who had made him twice a father.

He had forgotten his past sufferings and the persecutions he had endured for the sake of his country and the welfare of his people. Between the love of his wife and the smiles of his infant children, he allowed himself to hope that at last the stormy days were over for him, and his soul was filled with an infinite confidence in the mercy and protection of heaven.

In June, 1884, Riel was visited by some influential Metis: Gabriel Dumont, Moïse Ouellette, and two or three others. These men had travelled nearly fifteen hundred miles to see him.

They told him of the poverty and misery of his Half-breed brothers in the Saskatchewan; of their treatment at the hands of the Government employees: of their starving condition; of the insolence and cruelty of the Ontario speculators, who had wrongly and unlawfully dispossessed of their lands a great number of Metis.

They warmly appealed to his patriotism, to his well-known love for his race.

Riel listened to them. He deeply sympathized with all they said, but he spoke of his determination not to take any further part in politics. His past experience had been too severe a lesson for him

Gabriel Dumont told him that their suffering brothers had no one else but him (Riel) to place at their head and to insist upon the Government redressing their wrongs.

He appealed to his well-known nobleness of heart: « Our families are without bread, » said Dumont to Riel. « The Mounted Police, instead of protecting us against the rapacity of Ontario immigrants, have joined the conspiracy against our tranquility. Our wives and our daughters are daily insulted.

« There is only one voice that can gather our dispersed population, and that voice is yours.

« There is only one man among us who can force the Government to listen to our just claims, that man is you.

« You cannot refuse to join us: your intelligence, your energy, your influence belong to our unfortunate race. To abandon us at this moment would be a cowardly act. »

Riel reflected a long time, and yielding at last to his friend's entreaties, he decided to join his people and to battle once more for their rights.

Finally, this noble and disinterested man had in his patriotic heart the heroic courage to part from a beloved wife; and, the day following the visit of his supplicating countrymen, he tore himself from the caresses of his children and the home where he had been so happy.

It has been said that Riel was insane ; if so, his insanity was certainly of a sublime nature!

An historical comparison

His self-abnegation was most stoical, and of the same exalted kind as that which made of George Washington the father of his country.

The despotism and oppression inflicted by the English Government upon the American colonies, before 1770, were the chief motives of that gigantic uprising which made of the United States of America the sacred land of liberty and one of the greatest countries on earth. It was also the persecution and tyranny of England's hirelings towards French Half-breeds, that started the insurrections of 1869 in Manitoba and of 1885 in the Saskatchewan.

Had Washington failed to accomplish his noble and laudable object, and had he fallen into the hands of the British authorities,he would have mounted the scaffold as Ried did at Regina.

Had Riel succeeded — as at one time he came so near — in forcing the Dominion Government to come to terms and respect the rights of the Half-breeds, he would have been called the Liberator of his country.

Washington was a successful hero, and the founder of the American Nation; honor to his memory!

But, as the name of Washington will live for ever in history as the father of the great American people, that of Louis David Riel will exist eternally in French Canadian hearts as that of the heroic martyr who fell bravely and nobly for the sacred cause of his country!

From July, 1884, to March, 1885, Riel travelled all over the country, and often addressed the French Half-breeds at public meetings.

He then realized that the reports he had heard about the sad state of affairs among his people had not been exaggerated.

Petitions were sent to the Canadian Cabinet, and were treated with the same disdain and insulting indifference as those sent in 1869.

The Government answered by increasing the strength of the Mounted Police force.

On the 20th of March, a private dispatch came from Prince Albert, and announced that the insurrection was inevitable.

The Government denied the fact.

On the 23rd of March, another dispatch came from the same source stating that the rebellion had commenced. Again the Government organs published an official denial; but troops were immediately sent from Winnipeg to Prince Albert.

This last rebellion may be summed up as follows:

In March. Major Crozier, of the Mounted Police force, went to Duke Lake, accompanied by his artillery, and secured by force, from the Metis, a large quantity of oats. This commenced the hostilities.

On the 2nd of April, the massacre by Indians at Frog Lake occurred; from April 24th to May 8th, serious engagements took place, and on May 11th, the last battle was fought at Batoche.

On the 15th of May, Riel surrendered himself, and eight days after, he was imprisoned at Regina.

On the 20th of July, Riel was tried by Judge Richardson, and pronounced guilty by a jury of six Englishmen.

On August 1st he was sentenced to death, the execution to take place on the 18th of September.

His appeal was rejected on the 10th of the same month by the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba.

And finally, after four reprieves, the sentence was executed on the 16th of November, 1885, at 8.23 a.m.

Sheriff Chapleau superintended the execution.

I shall not attempt to express my personal feelings about this execution, which has met with the protestations of millions of Christians. I will simply publish the opinion of the press on this mournful affair.

The extracts of newspapers that follow *are only a few among thousands* that have energetically condemned the conduct of Sir John A. MacDonald and his Cabinet.

The few commentaries I reproduce will speak for themselves, and will prove to my readers that the execution of Riel has roused universal indignation.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

BEFORE THE EXECUTION

That Riel's people had much to complain about is clear They had been cheated, just as we have cheated our Indians time and again. They were happy and prosperous before the rairoad was projected. Then came a train of persecutions, of wrongs, of misrepresentations, until the Indian found that he was not wanted. He was sore, restless, angry, revengeful. He felt for his knife: he took down his gun. His petitions went

nto the waste-basket. He was nothing but an Indian. Then he showed that an exasperated Indian knows how to kill his enemy. The white man's persistent injustice was the cause of the uprising. Of that there is no doubt.

The first duty of the government is to face this fact. It is puerile to condemn Riel, then to respite him, and then to respite him a third time. That is cruelty not to be endured by a civilized community. Sir John is in a bad predicament; but if he has the courage of his convictions he will not hang Riel, Obstinacy is no substitute for honor in these times.—*N.Y. Herald*.

The *Central Law Journal*, of St. Louis, very pertinently asks. says the *N. Y. Herald:* «What would àn American lawyer think of trying a citizen for the crime of murder or treason before a court composed of two justices of the peace and a jury of six men, without any indictment by a grand jury, but on a mere «charge» made not even under oath?» This question put by a representative law periodical carries its own answer. To an American lawyer or an American citizen the trial of Riel stands out as à mockery of justice and his sentence as a grievous wrong.

It may further be asked : What will be said of Sir John MacDona:d if he sends Riel to the gallows after such a pretence of a trial, in the face of the jury's recommendation to mercy, and n spite of the fact that the prisoner is mentally irresponsible? He cannot do this without committing an irretrievable political blunder and sanctioning an act of gross injustice.

The sentiment and opinion of this country are against the hanging of Riel because he has not had such a trial as every accused person is entitled to; because the jury recommended him to mercy; because being of unsound mind, he is not criminally responsible, and because it was only by a violent stretch of the law that he could be tried for treason. The view taken in the United States is unbiassed and disinterested. Sir John may well adopt it as a safe guide of action.

We think that Sir John wishes to save the neck of Riel. He knows that he is a crank. He knows that a million and a quarter of Frenchmen believe this and are pleading for mercy. Why, then, does he not at once commute his sentence? Because the Orangemen of Ontario are determined that Riel shall be hanged. They hate Riel's French blood; they hate Riel's Catholic religion. They are bound to compel Sir John to execute him, and they threaten loss of their political influence if he refuses. Popular feeling in the provinces is therefore running high. The people are becoming dangerously explosive in their expressions of opinion. A perfect cyclone of excitement, according to our Montreal correspondent, is gathering, which Sir John will be powerless to control.

If Sir John is a large man and a brave man and a just man,

Riel will not be hanged on Monday. If he is hanged his blood will be on Sir John's hands,... — *N. Y. Herald.*

And, later on, we read in the same paper:

The Province of Quebec is wild with excitement. It is better to allay than to still further rouse that excitement. Not to hang Riel, who can be imprisoned for life, is more judicions than to kindle the hostility of a million and a quarter of the Queen's subjects by hanging him. Riel is nothing; the welfare of the Dominion is everything.

We learn by Mackay-Bennett cable this morning that an attempt is being made to petition the Queen in Riel's behalf. A petition has also been sent to Lord Lansdowne. Such succor comes, however, too late. Still, it confirms the position of the *Herald* — that Riel's crime should be classed as a political offence, and is not punishable by death.

If Sir John hangs Riel he will deserve the contempt of the civilized world.

The Canadian Government will accomplish nothing by hanging Riel, Treason may be made odious, but clemency is the best agent that can be used against the rebellious. Queen Victoria might exercise the royal prerogative to good purpose and cable a pardon. It is not Riel, but the cause he espoused, that appeals for consideration. — *Baltimore Times.*

To-morrow we shall know whether Sir John MacDonald is a statesman or a mere politician; whether he has concluded to execute Riel in order to purchase popularity with the Orangemen, or to do right though the heavens fall.

Sir John, it will be remembered, said some time ago of Riel: « I wish to God I could catch him: » This, however, is not the time for a great man to take revenge on a poor crazy Half-breed. The question of life or death ought to be settled by the verdict of the jury, and that contained a recommendation to mercy. Sir John should not forget this fact. — *N. Y. Herald.*

It is impossible to regard Riel as an ordinary criminal, as merely a malefactor who is about to pay with his life his offences against the criminal law of the land. He was the representative and leader of a great number of men who felt and believed that they had just cause of complaint, and that Riel was doing no more than any other man suffering under bad laws and bad practices under bad laws would have done under like circumstances. To hang Riel will be to make a martyr of him, and now is not the timo to hold any one up to view in the Dominion as an innocent sufferer for political offences. It does not require a very high order of statesmanship to see that the execution of Riel will be a political blunder of the first class, and yet the same blunder may be committed, because Canadian statesmanship is not able to treat with common sense the plainest of questions. — *Washington Post.*

AFTER THE EXECUTION.

The circumstances of Riel's execution, as they are described in our special despatches, says the *New York Herald*, were in harmony with the course the Canadian authorities had pursued toward him from the moment of his capture. He was hanged in a loft lightedby one small window, through which the early sunshine struggled dimly, and by some flickering candles in the hands of the ministering priests. One of them chanted the Lord's Prayer aloud, and the drop fell between the words « Lead us not into temptation » and « Deliver us from evil. » No friend was suffered to attend the victim. But though he was solitary among enemies he did not falter in the presence of death. He kept the promise that had been seduced from him to make no « dying speech. » Whatever he was before those final moments, in them he was brave and faithful. Can as much be said of the Sheriff, if the report be true, that he accepted the services of a man to spring the trap who solicited that base office to gratify a personal malice? Or can as much be said of one of the priests present on the scaffold, if the report be true that he was a secret agent of Sir John A. MacDonald to shut Riel's mouth?

Well, the deed is done, and the merciless government of the Marquis of Lansdowne invites the judgment of the world on its wisdom. Our prediction is that few years will roll by before those who have done it will comprehend and confess that by converting Riel from a lunatic to a martyr they have long retarded the reconciliation of races and the fusion of the Canadians into one harmonious people. Nor is the probability to be ignored that the hanging of Riel will impress the present generation of Canadians of French descent with an unconquerable conviction that reconciliation and fusion can never be accomplished so long as Canada remains a British possession. . . .

What can the Marquis of Lansdowne say of his achievements toward harmonizing and fusing the Canadians, French and English? In answer to this question see the flags at half-mast and the emblems of mourning for Riel, whose display is described in our special despatches from the principal cities of the Dominion; and read the substantially unanimous opinion of the million and a half Canadians of French descent, well and concisely expressed in *L'Etendard*, of Montreal :—

« Riel should not have been hanged. Because he was not « responsible for his acts. Because he had not a fair trial. « Because the verdict of the jury did not justify the government « in signing the warrant for the execution. And because his « crime was a political offence. »

DUBLIN, Nov. 17, 1885.—The news of Riel's execution, cabled to Dublin, Ireland, has naturally excited great feeling against the

English authorities. Mr. Gray, M.P., in his newspaper, the *Freeman's Journal*, says :—« Everything was done to exasperate the sympathisers of Riel. His trial was a judicial mockery of which any free nation ought to be ashamed.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says :—The execution of political prisoners is, as all true statesmen have taught us, worse than a blunder. The life of Riel is in itself neither more nor less valuable than the single life of any of the hundreds who died at his bidding, but a leader who embodies the hopes and convictions of thousands becomes almost a sacred person, and the hangman's touch revolts the feelings of his followers as sacrilege does the feelings of the religious. »

The *London Echo*, edited by a member of Parliament, concludes : « Riel was a weak and not a very courageous man, but. misguided as he was, we believe him to have been, like his father before him—moved to play the part he did by love for his country. The government of the Dominion would have stood better in the eyes of the world to-day had it spared his life. »

The *Toronto Globe* says editorially :

« Another act of the terrible tragedy closed on Monday morning, and on the 27th, it is said, eight Indians will be hanged. All those horrors might have been avoided if Sir John A. MacDonald had done his duty as Minister ef the Interior and as Premier of Canada. There would have been no rebellion, and Canada would have been spared all this dreadful loss of life, which is a national disgrace, and which appears to be a national judgment. »

Strong denunciation of the action of the Government—a political blunder.

That the hanging of Riel was received with grave dissatisfaction by the majority of the inhabitants of the city of Quebec is undoubted. The press and the most trusty public men condemn the execution as being both a political blunder and a cruel crime. *Le Canadien* of Quebec voices the sentiment of thousands of people in the Province in the following editorial :

« The blood shed on the scaffold at Regina is a bad cement, « and if the confederation has no other to keep it together, « then the gale which will tumble the whole fabric to pieces is « not far distant. As a young country, too, we have set to the « world the bad example of punishing with death that class « of offences known as political, which all other civilized com« munities condone; a country, also, in which the power of life « or death is swayed by factions is not likely to be regarded as « a safe or desirable one to live in. We are asked on all hands : « What are the French Canadian Ministers doing? » Our reply « is short. Sir Hector Langevin and Mr. Chapleau have been

« vanquished, but they have not deemed it opportune to resign.
« Whateverline of conduct they followed, their responsibility « was immense. They have chosen the line mentioned. Their « position is exceptionally painful and difficult. Let us not « repudiate them without hearing their explanations. »

L'Evénement, also of Quebec, in its editorial comments, says :

« We counsel calmness in the terrible crisis which we are « traversing. Calmness has an imposing power when it is ac- « companied by the determination to obtain justice, to avenge « an outrage on the first favorable opportunity. The future « waited for coolly, patiently, is always pregnant with such « opportunities. The scaffold at Regina is an outrage upon the « renown of the British Empire. Riel has been executed against « the law of nations, in obedience to Orangeism, which puts « in peril to-day one of the richest jewels of the British crown. »

La Presse of Montreal says of Riel :—

« He will pass into the ranks of martyrs and become an « object of veneration and an example to others eager to imitate « his career. If he had merely been kept in confinement he « would have passed in a few months into obscurity. »

The *Presse* reminds its readers of the monuments erected to the victims of 1837, while of those who escaped, some became high public functionaries, members of Parliament, ministers of the Crown, and even received English baronetcies, as Sir L. H. Lafontaine and Sir Geo. E. Cartier, for instance, who were principals in the revolutions of 1837-38.

The *Monde*, the organ of Sir Hector Langevin, the Minister of Public Works, who was too cowardly to resign his seat in the Cabinet, citing the judgment of Mgr. Grandin—« Free, Riel is dangerous; hanged, his name would be a danger »—says :—

« These words seem to strike the right note. We are not of « those who consider Riel a national hero or a pure and disin- « terested patriot. To our eyes the *auréole* of the martyr and « apostle does not radiate from his brow. But whatever may be « our conviction as to the rôle and character of Louis Riel, we « are strongly inclined to adhere to the opinion of Mgr. Grandin, « that it would have been alike dangerous to hang him and to « set him at liberty. »

L'Etendard of Montreal says :

« On Novémber, 16, 1869, was the burial of Guibord in the « Catholic Cemetery, and on November 16, 1885, the hanging of « Louis Riel at Regina. It is suggested here that a monument « be erected to Riel, and that the Quebec Legislature vote a sum « for the maintenance of his widow and children. »

L'Electeur, the organ of the Quebec French liberals, has the following :

« This is for us a day of national sorrow ; for, this morning's

« murder signifies the triumph of Orangemen over French « Canadians and Catholics. »

The London *Daily News* says : « As a general rule executions for high treason seem to us highly impolitic. They invest the victim with the halo of martyrdom and often revive animosities which would otherwise die out. »

The *Quebec Chronicle*, a paid organ of the Ottawa Cabinet, mildly approves of Riel's execution as the fitting termination of a fair and open trial and a just desert of repeated deeds of murder, bloodshed, revolt, and rapine.

The Paris Press

Louis Riel dead more dangerous than Louis Riel alive.

The Paris correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald* telegraphed on the 17th of November as follows :

« I find that a strong anti-English feeling exists this evening in all the political parties here respecting the execution of Riel. M. Rochefort says :

« In assassinating judicially the heroic chief of the Canadian « Metis, England has not only committed a political fault but « *une imfâmie*. She will discover too late that Louis Riel « dead is infinitely more dangerous than Louis Riel living. »

The hour of vengeance.

The *Figaro* has the longest comments on the case. Its editorial concludes :

« It is hardly probable that Lord Lansdowne. who either « could not or would not pardon Riel, can understând the « effect that will be produced by the odious act that he has « sanctioned. The French Canadians form an important group « in the Parliament at Ottawa, and his accounting with them « must come sooner or later, As to the Metis and Indian tribes, « they can, when the occasion arises, undertake cruel reprisals. « The savages know how to await the hour of vengeance, and « they will never forget what occurred this morning at Regina. »

The *Télégraphe* expresses the opinions of a large section of moderate minds in the community as follows :

« Thus ends the last chapter in a checkered and stoimy life. « On its last page the hangman has written his ignominious « *finis*, and human justice is supposed to be satisfied. It would « be well for the Dominion if the volume really closed here « and could be put away ever out of sight and out of mind. « But we fear that this is an impossibility. In the eyes of thou- « sands—nay, millions—not alone of his fellow countrymen, « but of men of all races and climes, Riel, the unsuccessful « rebel, has crowned a career of patriotic struggle for the rights « of men with the aureole of the martyr. In their estimation

« he has died the victim of a train of circumstances begotten of « misgovernment, religious bigotry, national prejudices, and « revenge, while to make matters worse in their opinion he has « been forced to the scaffold without the use of those senses « which could alone justify the infliction of the death penalty « upon even the most hardened criminal, thus adding a further « and still more indelible disgrace to the Canadian name. It « will readily be seen that the prevalence of such a current of « sympathetic feeling with the unfortunate man who suffered « to-day is not the best guarantee in the world for the conti« nuance of those harmonious relations between the different « elements and Provinces of the Confederation which are so « essential to its peace and prosperity. The wedge of discord « has been, so to speak, driven deeply into the quivering flesh « of the body politic, and heaven only knows where the trouble « will end. The execution of Riel marks the starting point on a « very perilous path, with one portion of the Canadian popula« tion regarding the tragic event as the fit conclusion to a tur« bulent, murderous, and rebellous career, and the other portion « viewing it as the martyrdom of a hero and a patriot, whose « only crime was to have been of their blood, and to have loved « his poor down-trodden fellow-countrymen in the North« west too well. It will be admitted, we think, that the outlook « for the future is not encouraging. A wound has been sustained « that will rankle and fester for years to come, but let us hope « that calmness, judgment, and discretion may prevail with « every one, and that we may say, as President Lincoln said in « his memorable speech at Gettysburg, that « this nation under « God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government « of the people by the people and for the people shall not perish « from the earth. »

Sir John's motives

The editor of the *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, of New York, denounces Sir John's conduct in unsparing terms. « The circumstances surrounding this political drama have no precedent in history, » he said to a *Herald* reporter. « I cannot recall an instance in which a sentence of death has been carried out in the face of so many and so powerful protests. It is hardly necessary to say that this execution was not a punishment for crime, as crimes of that sort are not punished by death nowadays, but a political speculation. And the latest revelations seem to prove that it was an act of obedience to an irresistible secret power, and that Sir John was bound to execute Riel in order to please the Orange faction. If this hypothesis be true—and it seems to be so—the act is even a blacker one than it otherwise would have been. It would make Sir John not only the representative of

an implacable hatred between the races, but an instrument of secular fanaticism. It can be readily seen, however, that Sir John would be deceived in his calculations, and would not receive as much support as he expected. Not only the French Canadians, but the Irish Catholics, will be opposed to him. Another remarkable fact is that not only was the government very strongly importuned to change the death sentence, but the sentence itself was not justified by Riel's acts. The jury saw that and recommended him to mercy.

« That history will reveal Sir John's motives is very certain. It will then be seen that not only political, but personal reasons constrained him to act in this manner. It will be said that he felt his power lessening, and found it necessary to strike a decisive blow in order to assure the British Government of his devotion, and with the ultimate object of obtaining the government of the Indies, a peerage, and a place among the counsellors of the Crown »

If the Canadian Government could hang the land speculators who furnished the misguided followers of Riel with their guns and ammunition, they would do a good thing. It loocks as though the execution of Riel might furnish an opportunity for speculators to get up another insurrection before long, and they may be more fortunate in their choice of a general. — *New Haven Register.*

A legal murder

Every French Canadian will feel that a legal murder has been done, and the execution will therefore tend to increase the hostility which exists between this class of the people and the other subjects of the Queen in Canada. There were real grievances behind the uprising which Riel headed, and England could well afford to show a little humanity to the unfortunate Half-breed leader. — *Hartford Post.*

Riel met his fate bravely, without showing either timidity or bravado. His demeanor will doutbless increase the resentment which his sentence has inspired not only among the Half-breeds of the North-west, but among the whole French population of Lower Canada. . . . .

The appeal to Executive clemency in Riel's case owed all its force to the consideration that the Government had oppressed and outraged the people whose leader Riel became. The rebellion came very near being justified when the Government, in consequence of it, took steps to inquiro into and redress the grievances of the settlers, which it had not taken before the rebellion broke out, and which there is no reason to believo it would ever have taken but for the rebellion. With this admission made, the question for the Canadian Governmens

became the twofold question whether Riel was so dangerout a character that it would not do to leave him alive, and whether the enmity to the Government which his execution would excite was so trifling that it could safely be disregarded.

The execution of Riel, followed by the excitement attending the outbreak of smallpox in Lower Canada, has embittered the French population against the English more than any other event of recent years. The establishment of friendly or even of tolerant relations between the two races will now be extremely difficult, and without such relations the lot of the Ministry, of whatever party, will be one of endless perplexities. — *New York Times.*

Louis Riel, the leader of the Canadian Half-breed rebellion, was hanged yesterday at Regina, North-west Territory. He had been convicted of high treason, and for that offence sentenced to death. During the weeks that have elapsed since sentence was passed upon him the Canadian people have been divided into two factions, one clamoring for his blood and the other protesting against his execution.

An appeal in Riel's behalf was made to the English Government, but the Ministry refused to interfere, and there has been a similar division of opinion in England. In this country less interest has been felt in the case than the excitement over it manifested by some of our newspapers would lead one to believe. Nevertheless, the general feeling has been one of sympathy with the condemned man.

This is due to no conviction that Riel was right, or that his rebellion was justified, but to an aversion on the part of Americans generally to the infliction of the death penalty for political offences. This man, who headed an insurrection in a distant Canadian province, which at no time threatened the peace and safety of the Dominion, is tried and hanged as a traitor. Contrast this with the conduct of our own government which, at the close of a great rebellion that threatened its very eixstence, made no attempt to punish any of those who had taken up arms against it.

The result in our case has been a gradual disappearance of the passions of the civil war, and the turning of ninety-nine hundredths of the Government's recent enemies into stanch and loyal supporters. The opposite course in Canada will make Riel a martyr, and perpetuate and widen the breach caused by his trial and conviction.

We fear that the Canadian Government not only lacks magnanity, but political sagacity. — *New York Star.*

The Canadian Government has executed Riel on the gallows. It ought not to have done so for two reasons. First, the Government, by its offer to settle with the « rebels » in the North-west Territory after the latter had taken up arms, and by its

admission that the Half-breed residents had been wronged and were entitled to redress, precluded itself from exacting the extreme penalty of the law for the offence and made the hanging of the leader an act of cruelty and tyranny. Next, because the mind of the prisoner was evidently unhinged and no proper examination was made to ascertain if he was morally responsible for his acts.

The execution was as impolitic as it was brutal. There is every reason to suppose that the Government feared the political resentment of that portion of the population which clamored for Riel's blood. Perhaps it was thought that the « English » sentiment at home would be offended if mercy should be shown to the victim. But the anger of the French portion of the Canadian population is much more likely to be dangerous than the bluster of those who would be satisfied with nothing less than the poor creature's death. It will be surprising if the Government is not made in the end to see the folly of its course and to pay heavily for its blunder.

Riel's crime was of course one of a serious character, against which a nation has the right to protect itself by severe penalties. But a Government's hands must be clear of injustice and the offence be without justification to warrant extreme measures in such a case. If it had not been admitted that the Half-breeds had serious and cruel wrongs to complain of, and if Riel had been a man of sound mind and vigorous intellect, the execution would have been justifiable. As it is, it was a brutal and revengeful act and an indication of cowardice and weakness instead of an exhibition of firmness on the part of the Government. — *New York World.*

Canada repudiates the crime

The Montreal Post, the representative organ of the Irish element in the Province of Quebec, edited by Mr. H. J. Cloran, whose talent is only surpassed by his enlightened patriotism, has untiringly worked in the good cause, and written, both before and after Riel's execution, some very remarkable articles, extracts from which we should have liked to make more extensive if our space was not necessarily limited.

« Louis Riel, the leader of two rebellions raised in the interest of justice and right, and on behalf of the oppressed Half-breeds and pioneer settlers of the Canadian North-west, was hanged this morning at Regina. He bowed his head to the murderous manipulation of the hangman with as much grace and fortitude as Sir John and his colleagues submitted with cowardice and pusilanimity to the bloodthirsty dictation of the Orange demon, which has been seeking to destroy the chief of the Metis during the past fifteen years. To the scandal of the

civilized world, and to the injury of the Canadian Confederation, Riel has been made to suffer for a deed committed during the first rebellion, and for which he was pardoned by the same hand that to-day signed his death warrant. The cause and the people which Riel represented made his life sacred. In himself he may have been nothing ; and his death, as an individual, would not have disturbed the peace and harmony of the poeple. But Riel's identification and association with a cause universally recognized to be a just one gave him that inviolability which modern civilization has decreed to be the part and right of a political prisoner. Our government has shamefully and for the basest of purposes violated that decree. And that violation the people of Canada owe it to themselves and to the fair name of their country to repudiate and condemn by flinging from power the men whose hands are stained with the blood of Riel. »

Later on, the *Post*, proofs in hand, exposed the machinations of Orangeism against Riel in the following terse manner:

Orangeism the main factor in Riel's hanging.

There are now loud protestations in Ontario that the Orangemen of that Province did not bring any influence to bear upon the Government to hang Louis Riel, and made no threats against Sir John if the execution did not take place. It looks as if those who clamored for Riel's death and those who ordered it have become frightened at their own work. The Toronto *Mail* denies emphatically that there was any demand for his blood by the Orangemen, or that he was hanged to glut their vengeance. These denials and protestations come too late What is written in black and white cannot be so easily effaced The fact remains that Riel was butchered to make an Orange holiday. We prove what we say by quoting the resolutions passed by Orange lodges, the speeches made by Orange leaders, and the articles written by the Orange organ of the Orange Association. Let the Canadian people — English, Scotch, Irish, and French — judge between these Orange protestations of to-day, that they wanted none of Riel's blood, and their bloodthirsty, seditious, and revolutionary cries before the perpetration of the foul deed, that, if Riel was not hung, « the day was not far distant when a call to arms would resound throughout the Dominion. »

Let our readers and all those who are opposed to Orangeism and its dark and evil doings, *meditate like all good Canadian citizens upon the following sentiments which prepared the way for the iniquitous execution of Louis Riel : —*

The Black Knights concur.

« At Peterborough, Ont., the following resolution was unani-

« mously carried at a meeting of the Black Knights of Ireland « on Wednesday evening, November: 11 th —

« That, having heard read from the chair the following reso- « lutions passed by Loyal Orange Lodge No. 80 :

« That in the present condition of Ireland, we the assembled « members of L. O. L. No. 80, believe it to be the duty of all « Protestants to join together to oppose the advance of the so- « called Nationalists (Parnellites) and to show a united front « against sedition and anarchy ».

« That this L. O. L., No. 80, sees with regret the obstacles « that are being put forwart to prevent the rebel Riel from « paying the just penalty of his many crimes on the scaffold, « and that this lodge is of opinion that no further respite should « be granted him, but that he should suffer the extreme penalty « of the law and be hanged in fulfilment of the sentence passed « upon him».

« We give the same our heartry commendation and support, « and that copies of this resolution be sent to Sir John A. Mac- « Donald, the *Orange Sentinel*, the Toronto *Mail*, and the local « papers».

Thus were the Orange lodges engaged in forcing Sir John A. MacDonald to close his ears to the petitions for mercy which were so strongly recommended by the jury, and to practise most unpardonable piece of deception upon the members of this Province, who were previously assured that Riel's life would be spared.

Now, as to the oratorical efforts of the Orange leaders to compel the Government to yield to their demands for vengeance and for blood. At an Orange gathering in Toronto on Nov. 6th, one of the speakers exclaimed :

« And shall Riel, this arch-rebel, go free whilst loyal men « have stained the ground with their blood to uphold the « Queen's authority? Never. (Loud applause). And the sooner « the Government of Sir John MacDonald understand the true « feeling of Orangemen on this question the better. I was « pleased to notice in the speeches of County-Master Somers, « District-Master Wilson, and Brothers Graham and Low, the « determination expressed that if the Government allows Rome « to step in on this occasion and secure a reprieve for this « arch-traitor, the Conservative party can no longer count on « their services, although they have worked and voted for « them for many years ».

That extract is worth meditating upon. It is the repetition of the cry that was raised at all the Orange gatherings in many parts of Ontario.

Coming down to the official organ of the Orange body, it will be seen that that worthy journal does not allow itself to be eclipsed, although enjoying the calm and peace of an editorial

sanctum, by resolutions or speeches. The week before the exe cution, when there was so much uncertainty as to Riel's fate, the *Orange Sentinel*, speaking on behalf of the Orange Association, made a final appeal, a supreme effort, to put an end to the wavering of Sir John and his colleagues and to settle the question of hanging Riel. Here is that effort of the *Orange Sentinel :*

« Shall the atrocious injustice be commited of permitting this « artful rebel to go free while his dupes and tools — the unfor- « tunate, untutored, and misled Indians — are hanged for parti- « cipation in acts which they regard as praiseworthy and heroic, « instead of criminal? The people of Canada will require un- « equivocal answers to these straightforward questions if Riel « be reprieved; and the only answer we judge that can be « truthfully given is that the Frenchmen of Quebec rule in « the Dominion Parliament, and have vowed that not a hair of « Riel's head shall be harmed. Was it to this end, then, that « our gallant volunteers sprang to arms and laid down their « lives at their country's call? Shall Frenchmen who sym- « pathise with the rebels be permitted to undo their work? If « so, let it be known throughout this land. Let it be proclaimed « that the rights and liberties of Britons in an English colony « hang only upon the breath of an alien race. But English Cana- « dians will not longer suffer the galling bondage; and the day « may not be far distant when the call to arms will again « resound throughout the Dominion. Then, indeed, ours soldiers, « profiting by the lessons of the past, must complete a work « throughout the whole land only begun in the North-west»

Here is a band of men who call themselves loyal citizens, proclaiming to the world that if the Canadian Government dared to adopt a policy of clemency, recommended by Riel's jury, dictated by humanity and civilization, and petitioned for by the people, they would lift the standard of revolt and declare for civil war. Are these the men to rule this country and guide its destinies. We say no! and the voice of the Dominion will say no! Orangeism must be squelched. — *The Montreal Daily Post.*

The duty of the Hour

The Irish Catholics of Canada have in the grave crisis through which this country is passing a serious duty to perform. The French Canadian people, feeling that a gross outrage has been done the country in general, and their own race in particular, have risen in their might to insist upon the obliteration for ever from our politics of that Orange influence which demanded and procured the head of poor Riel. Is there aught of wrong in this? Have ever people so cruelly outraged, wronged, and in-

sulted, shown such moderation, such consideration for the feelings of other classes, such a determination to proceed by purely constitutional means? We have followed with closest scrutiny every action and movement of the French people in this crisis, and we stand to-day, we must confess it, in profound admiration of their lofty patriotism, their noble self-control, and their unswerving loyalty to the constitution. What do they ask? Do they seek the dismemberment of Confederation? They do not. Do they seek a war of races and of religion? They do not. Do they seek to rob their Protestant or English-speaking fellow-citizens of any of the rights these latter enjoy under the constitution? They do not. What is it then they do seek? They seek the destruction as a political power of a faction whose existence in this free country is a disgrace to the age. They seek, by means just and fair, the vindication of their race, so foully wronged by the killing of Riel because his death has been decreed in the secrecy of Orange lodges. They seek, in fine, the acknowledgment of those rights guaranteed them by the constitution, but now threatened by Orange violence and aggression. *This crisis had in some way to come.* Its result will, if the French Canadians persevere in their legal and constitutional agitation, exhibiting the same regard for law and order and for the rights of every other class of the population, that now characterizes their movement, be a most happy one for Confederation. What then should be the precise position of Irish Catholics in this crisis? They should not, in our estimation, take part in or encourage illegal or violent manifestations of any kind calculated to incite class against class or race against race. They should not express admiration for rebels or rebellions merely because the rebels are mostly Catholics, nominal or otherwise. They must not forget that the Catholic Church, as an organization, was a heavy loser by Riel's uprising — priests murdered, missions laid waste, faithful and clergy dispersed. But they can lend and will, we are sure, lend hearty sympathy to their brave and patriotic French fellow-citizens, to whom the minorities in Ontario and the North-west are indebted for their Catholic schools, to whom in other regards the drish Catholics of Canada are under many lasting obligations, profound sympathy in their humiliation and sorrow. Nor will they join, whatever their individual view as to the wisdom or unwisdom of such a course, in any anti-French cry that may be raised, if the clergy and people of Lower Canada decide on the formation of a French national party for the giving of full expression to their views in the singular political revolution brought about by Riel's execution. And they are heart and hand with the French Canadians in laying down and maintaining the principle that Orangemen must not, as such, be permitted to exercise the slightest semblance of control over the

Government of this country. In one word, let our people, however intense their feelings, be guided by prudence and moderation, heeding in all regards the good counsel of their clergy. Every good citizen, be he of Irish, Scotch, English, or German origin, ardently hopes for the advent of the day when no one of our political parties will feel tied down by alliance with any politico-religious society, but when our statesmen, rising to the height of their position and placing duty before expediency, will rule Canada for Canadians, not setting race against race, Province against Province, but striving by every means in their power to build up here, in this part of the Northern continent on the basis of justice, equality and freedom, a new nation whose power shall be the glory of its people and whose progress shall be the admiration of the world. — *Catholic Record*, of London, Ontario.

Misgovernment and Rebellion

The Ministry will not be allowed to avail themselves of any side issue as a means of escape from responsibility for the evils caused by their misgovernment. All the bloodshed, all the destruction of property, all the waste of public money, all the suffer ings of the Metis, and all the ill-feeling which fills the land, are the direct results of their misgovernment. There would have been no rebellion if there had been no oppression, no robbery, no ill-treatment of the honest and peaceful Half-breeds. Sir Alexander and Mr. Chapleau deny that the Half-breeds had any grievances; but such a denial is perfectly futile in view of the proceedings of the Scrip Commission, which was set to work the moment the Metis appeared in arms. They had vainly petitioned for redress during the past seven years. Their clergy had fruitlessly appealed to the Government on their behalt. These petitions kept pouring in from every settlement in the North-west, and demanded only simple justice, but they were treated with scorn. An answer was not even vouchsafed. Instead of receiving protection, Ottawa kept on increasing the number of intruders, until the suffering Half-breeds were driven from their lands and their homes. Mgr. Grandin, the venerable Bishop of St. Albert, added his influence and efforts to the work of trying to open the eyes of Sir John to the seriousness and gravity of the situation. His Lordship made every effort, by voice and pen, to solicit the Government to act equitably towards the Metis. But to petitions, prayers, letters and delegations, the Half-breeds received nothing but contemptuous silence from Ottawa.

To use Henry Grattan's memorable words : « The treason of « the Ministers against the liberties of the people was infinitely « worse than the rebellion of the people against the Ministers. » That is the whole situation in a nutshell, and that is the situa-



tion Sir John and his Ministers will have to face when they come to reckon with the representatives of the people, or, if those prove false on the floor of the House, with the people themselves at the ballot-box.

The wonder is that the Half-breeds stood the oppression so long without taking up arms before they did. A Halifax contemporary, looking at the sufferings and the indignities to which the Half-breeds were subjected, asks : « Is there a parish in Nova « Scotia that would have tolerated a similar outrage? We thank « Heaven that no body of men so craven could be found within « the limits of this whole Province. These men at Batoche stood « to their arms, and in a few weeks after the first shot was « fired they had achieved everything for which they had strug- « gled. Louis Riel was but their leader — assuming the leadership « at the urgent request of the Half-breeds. Because he placed « himself at the head of the rebellion, in the interests of the « people, and to secure their lands and guard their churches and « tombs, he is sent to the scaffold as a malefactor. »

That is the view taken of the rebellion by the mass of the people. It is common to the entire Confederation. A Toronto contemporary said that if men of English blood had been in a position like to that of the Half-breeds, « they would have sternly « appealed to the sword after their petitions had been neglected; « to doubt it would be treason to the most glorious memories « of British freedom. From time immemorial, men of the « English race have been ready to rebel against any authority « not yielding quickly to their just demands; they have been « the freest of men because the most rebellious. » Justice consequently cries out, not against the men who fought for their homes, but against the Ministers who forced the rebellion and created it by their own criminal maladministration. In fact, it may become a question of impeaching the principal ringleaders in the spoliation and oppression of the population of the Northwest. — From *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*, Montreal Canada.

The Situation in Ontario

The Orange Order can lay no claim to an exclusive monopoly, of loyalty; the brethren are not a whit more loyal than others, who are never heard bawling about what they have done and are prepared to do; and as to the peace and welfare of the community, it is a remarkable fact that where the Orange element is in the ascendant, there turmoil and strife are certain to be found. A political organization to all intents and purposes, its leaders are ever on the watch for the « main chance » — ever on the look-out for No. 1 — and they make the rank and file subservient to their own ends. Where they can control they make their power felt, whether it be in Parliamentary or Municipal

affairs; and none can share the boodle except those who belong to the « lodge. » A « good, sound Protestant, » who is not of the lodge, may sometimes get at their hands political preferment; but the Papist has no show whatever. And the worst of it is, that in many instances it is the Papist vote that secures power for the Orangeman. This may sound strange; but it is absolutely true that of the sixteen Orangemen of this Province who now hold seats in the House of Commons, several so hold by the good will and pleasure of Catholics. Yet the very men for whose return to Parliament Catholics worked earnestly and effectively were not ashamed the other day to demand of Sir Alexander Campbell that he forthwith cancel the appointment of a Catholic, which had just been made by one of his colleagues.

We think a crisis in this matter has been reached. When we find the Catholics of Ontario shut out from Parliamentary representation — shut out from judiciary, the list of sheriffs, of registrars, and county attorneys — shut out from the higher offices with their ample salaries; and when, in addition to all this, we find the Orange serpent (not satisfied with stinging the Catholics of this Province whenever and wherever it could) attempting to fasten its fangs on Ireland through those who are laboring in her cause here, we see but one course that can be pursued by any man with an ounce of Irish Catholic blood in his veins. The Orangemen have shown that they are our implacable foes, and that they are also the unrelenting enemies of reland. They have done us all the injury they could, and will do us more if they can. Let us put it out of their power to do us further harm; and let us punish them for the harm they have already done us. This we can do very easily and very simply.

When gentlemen of the Gaskin type — who believe in home rule for themselves but not for others — challenge the Catholic body offensively, unfairly and insultingly, the gauntlet should be picked up promptly and the battle begun. In every case where a choice is made by ballot — be it an election for Parliament or a municipal election — the Catholic should be careful in marking his ticket. If there be on the ticket the name of a candidate who is an Orangeman, his obvious duty is to pass that name by and vote for the candidate who is not an Orangeman, whatever else he may be. A plan like this, rigidly adhered to at every polling booth in the Province, would in a short time shear the members of the Orange Order of the greater part, if not all, of their political strength. It would do more : it would teach them a lesson which they would never forget — teach them that those who play with fire run the risk of being burned. The time is opportune for a test like this; and we can win if we be but united. It s not a question of politics; it is whether the Catholics of Ontario shall any longer submit to the injustice and indignity heaped

upon them by a secret, oath-bound cabal — a cabal whose oath binds all its members to undying hostility to Catholics and their religion. Every Orange lodge in this Province is the focus whence emanates the decree which rejects the Catholic and denies him participation in the public life of the country. We can do no less than reciprocate the *kindness* by voting steadily and solidly against every Orangeman who presents himself for our suffrage till we have seen the last of them. — From *The Irish Canadian*, of Toronto, Ontario.

A foul Deed

The foul deed is done, another victim sacrificed to the Moloch of Orange hate — the virgin pages of Canadian annals reddened with blood, and the structure of Confederation shaken to its very lowest foundations. The hanging of Louis Riel and the maintenance of Dewdney in a place he has dishonored, is the greatest political blunder perpetrated since Canada first entered on national existence. The whole country had just been rejoiced to hear of the completion of the Pacific Railway when this sanguinary deed was done — dividing man fron man, and setting citizen against citizen. A fate that Britain, with all her might and greatness, did not decree for Cetewayo or Arabi Bey, has befallen the unfortunate Chief of the Metis. It is all very well for interested men, men who hanker after the loaves and fishes of office, or men now in possession of the fleshpots of Egypt, to cry out against the infamy and the guilt of the Half-breed leader. We seek not to extenuate his guilt, nor to palliate his misdeed. But we do say that if ever there was a càse in which the clemency of the Crown should have been exercised, this verily was one. Riel was the leader of a people whom all honest men admit to have been goaded into rebellion by oppression as galling as ever borne. He had been tried by a court declared by one of the ablest of Canadian jurists — a man who loved him not — unconstitutional; and then his sanity had more than once, and by men of undoubted weight of character and experience, been called in question. But still he was hanged. Hanged! But not, mark you, readers, for his part in the late nsurrection; he was hanged because of the execution of Scott at Fort Garry in 1870. For this crime he had already suffered the severest of punishments, banishment from his own country and people. But the Orange Moloch would not be satisfied. The lodges, acting under orders from their leaders in Ottawa and elsewhere, sent their ultimatum to the Executive, and Riel's blood has been offered to appease the monster. Will Orangeism now be satisfied? Not at all. Give that foul beast blood, and he will demand more. Our French friends and ellow-citizens are now enabled to see the true nature of this bloody and infamous Association, whose entire history is one

of murder and violence. These are strong terms, but no stronger than the exigencies of the case demand.

With reason indeed does *L'Etendard* of the 16th inst. exclaim « This is a day of sovereign humiliation for the French « Canadian race. In this no mistake should be made, the stigma « of infamy that the fanaticism and cowardice of our enemies « are to press on the brow of Riel is designed for the ignominy « of a whole people. When will the day of retribution come? This question will, we know, meet with Orange laughter, « because, for ages, their executioners have made political « martyrs, and yet they revel with impunity in blood. »

« Whatever the result, let us, » adds our contemporary, « hold our souls in peace, and preserve ourselves from anger. « The smallest act of violence might compromise for ever the « most just of causes. »

With heart and soul we join with the *Post* in urging the closest union at this critical moment between the French and Irish Catholics of the Dominion. Riel has been made a victim to Orange hate and bigotry. The lodges may now rejoice, and rejoice they will for the moment. But if the Catholics of Canada, rising in their might, show them that they cannot here erect and maintain that same species of Protestant ascendancy that so long debased and disgraced Ireland, their rejoicing will be of short duration. The recent public declarations of the Orange body leave no room for doubt as to its intentions. Not satisfied with closing the doors of Municipal Councils in every Province where they àre numerous enough to do so against Catholics, not content with making it almost impossible for any Catholic to win legislative honors except in strongly Catholic constituencies, they have raised the cry that the French must go. Quebec is henceforth to be the objective point of their assaults. For years insidious attempts have been made to destroy the autonomy of the Provinces, for the purpose of obliterating French influence in this Dominion. These efforts French statesmen have not resisted at the outset as they should have been resisted, until at last they were thought so passive as even to bear a murderous blow at their nationality without the slightest resentment. It is difficult to predict the immediate political result that must follow so grave an occurrence as the execution of the Half-breed chieftain. As an indication of the feeling among the French supporters of the Administration, we may mention that *La Presse* (Conservative) announces that Messrs. Coursol, Desjardins, and Girouard, all three Conservatives, wrote Sir John Mac-Donald immediately before the execution to say that if Riel were hanged he should no longer have their support. On the 13th inst., the following telegram was sent the Premier :

Montreal, Nov. 13th, 1885.

To Sir John MacDonald, K. G. B., Ottawa :

The execution of Louis Riel would, under the actual circumstances, be an act of cruelty, all responsibility for which we repudiate.

Signed : J. C. Coursol, M. P., Montreal East.
Alphonse Desjardins, M. P., Hochelaga.
D. Girouard, M. P., Jacques-Cartier.
F. Vanasse, M. P., Yamaska.
L. H. Massue, M. P., Richelieu.
Dupont, M. P., Bagot.
A. L. Désaulniers, M. P., Maskinonge.
J.-B. Daoust, M. P., Two Mountains.
J. S. H. Bergeron, M. P., Beauharnois.
J. W. Bain, M. P., Soulanges.
P. B. Benoit, M. P., Chambly.
Ed. Guilbault, M. P., Joliette.
G. A. Gigault, M. P., Rouville.
S. Labrosse, M. P., Prescott.
L. L. L. Désaulniers, M. P., St.-Maurice.
F. Dugas, M. P., Montcalm.

Besides this message Sir John MacDonald also received the following :

Montreal, Nov. 13th, 1885.

To Sir John MacDonald, K. C. M. G., Ottawa :

I join very heartily with my colleagues in the actual circumstances. The execution of Riel would be an act of cruelty for which I repudiate all responsibility.

H. Hurteau, M.P., L'Assomption.

To Mr. Desjardins, member for Hochelaga, Mr. Amyot, on the same day, despatched the following telegram from Quebec :

To Alphonse Desjardins, M.P.

You have done well. Lesage and myself have wired in the same sense.
G. Amyot.

It will thus be seen that the entire Quebec delegation to the Commons is in a state of deepest excitement and agitation. What will the outcome be? The next session of Parliament will tell the tale. — *The Catholic Record* of London, Ontario.

Resolutions were adopted at the regular meeting of the Irish-American Union held last evening, in which the execution of Louis Riel was condemned as a « judical murder. » The resolution referred to the Canadian Government as a « subservient tool of the bigoted Orange faction, » and offered congratulations to the French Canadians for the « spirit and determination shown in their efforts to save Riel's life. » — *New York World.*

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES

« *L'Angleterre ne pardonne jamais à qui lui a fait peur.* »
(*Paris, Figaro Novembre 1895.*)

Mr. George Demanche, a distinguished member of the Pari *Figaro's* staff, in one of his letters published in that paper on the 10th of November, expresses himself as follows :

« If Riel had not surrendered himself, the struggle would have been a long one and the issue of the rebellion very likely different. It cannot be denied that the English felt very uneasy over this uprising of the French Half-breeds, and it is one of their characteristics never to forgive those who have frightened them. »

The eminent writer was with the French delegation that visitéd Canada during the month of August, 1885.

Before returning to France, Mr. Demanche and a few companions went as far as the Rocky Mountains, and they had an opportunity of seeing this immense North-western territory the French Metis tried so hard to free from English domination on two different occasions.

He ends his communication by these few words : « Taking everything into consideration, the execution of Riel would be a crime against humanity. »

And that crime has been perpetrated !

In writing that the English never forgave those who succeeded in scaring them, Mr. Demanche was undoubtedly thinking of the 30th of May, 1431.

It was on that day that over *forty thousand* English troops assembled at Rouen to witness the agony of *one* young giri scarcely twenty years of age, condemned by them to be burned alive.

It was on that day that Joan of Arc, the virgin of Orleans, expired in the midst of a devouring fire lit by English hands.

That *one* inspired young girl had stricken the entire English army with terror.

They did not forgive her, she died in the midst of the vociferations of the British soldiery that had fled before her.

Or perhaps Mr. Demanche had present in his mind the Island of St. Helena, where the giant whose roaring had shook the throne of England breathed his last under the odious treatment of his jailer, Hudson Lowe.

The Corsican who, when a young officer of artillery, had thrashed the English at Toulon, and who twenty-two years later, when Emperor of France, met Wellington at Waterloo, that Titan called Napoleon I., whose immortal eagles had harassed for years the British lion, allowed himself one day to trust English honor and generosity.

He asked hospitality of his enemy.

England confined the fallen Emperor at St. Helena.

This demi-god, who had seen the world at his feet, whose simple glance and frown had terrified the Emperors and Kings of Europe and who had dictated to all the potentates on earth, was given for kingdom a pestilential spot in the middle of the ocean. In seeing the open prison chosen for him by his British host, he remembered the words of Dante : *All hope abandon, ye who enter in.*

England had not forgotten!

She could not forgive!

Albion has been the evil genius of the Bonapartes.

The first, « the Great, » died an exile in one of her islands whose infected atmosphere is dreaded even by the sea gulls.

The second, Napoleon the third, the man of Sedan, saw his last day on the English soil which had been generously opened to him after he had left France ruined by his fault, and bleeding at every pore.

The third, the heir to the imperial throne of Napoleon I, ws a killed by the Zulus, while int he service of England. He fell on an isolated and ignored spot, clad in the British uniform, the same as the one worn by his grand-uncle's jailers at St. Helena.

A courageous Rascal.

After the Regina tragedy, Sir John A. MacDonald *suddenly* remembered that his presence was imperatively required in London. The important question of the fisheries was to be attended to, 'and thinking most wisely that a change of air would be beneficial to him, he decided to start for England.

I wonder how his colleagues of the Ottawa Cabinet felt on hearing that their leader had made up his mind to make that pleasure-trip.

Here again the public funds come in very handy.

Sir John A. MacDonald, Prime Minister for the Dominion of Canada, Member of the Privy Council of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, could not travel like a commoner, and as the vital importance of his trip to London could not be questioned, the country must pay for it. His Cabinet will have to face the popular storm without him. A pretty hard task I should think, and if I form my opinion on the subject from the public indignation lately expressed all over Lower Canada, the Ministers have a difficult work before them.

For, if Riel's trial is over, there is another trial to come, that of Sir John A. MacDonald and the French Canadian members of the Cabinet who have betrayed their race.

Riel has paid his debt in full.

The French Canadians will see that the traitors do the same.

The execution.

(From the *Leader*, the most prominent paper at Regina.)

The *Leader* was always hostile to Riel and his cause. The impartiality and the touching simplicity of the following narration struck me as deserving a few pages in this book. My readers will surely be deeply interested in reading this account of the patriot Louis David Riel's end, and will fully agree with me, that his beautiful death was worthy of his heroic life. This is the account published by the Regina *Leader* :

Riel executed.—He dies without a speech.—A sane and beautiful death.

REGINA, Nov. 16.—As fair a morning as ever dawned shone on the closing act—the last event—of the not uneventful life of Louis Riel. The sun glittered out in pitiless beauty and the prairie slightly silvered with hoar frost shone like a vast plain sown with diamonds. We drove Mr. Sherwood, Chief of Dominion Police, who had arrived on Sunday evening with the warrant. As we neared Government House two armed Mounted Police drew up their horses across our path and demanded our pass, which read as follows :

« To Mr. Gibson : Admit representatives of the *Leader*.

(Signed) SHERIFF CHAPLEAU. »

When we neared the bridge there was a force commanded by an inspector. Two traps were at a standstill. One of the troopers shook hands with Mr. Percy Sherwood, an old friend. We had a pleasant word with Mr. F. J. Hunter and Mr. W. C. Hamilton. Our pass was again vised and on we drove. Arrived at the prison we met outside the representatives of the press, Dr. Dodd, Dr. Pugsley, Mr. Marsh, Messrs. Gillespie, Dawson, Bole, and several citizens. The beauty of the morning was the chief theme of conversation. Towards eight o'clock we crushed our way through troopers, Col. Irvine very courteously doing all in his power for us, ascended the staircase, walked the length of the prison, and there, at the doorway of the ghastly place of execution, knelt Riel, his profile showing clear against the light. Father André, a surplice over his soutane, kneeling, his back to us, and Father McWilliams, with a stole thrown over his traveling-coat, kneeling, his face to us, and holding a wax candle lighted. In Riel's hand was an ivory crucifix, silver-mounted, which he frequently kissed. Father McWilliams and Père André ever and again sprinkled holy water on the condemned man. Riel was pale—deadly pale—and his face looked most intellectual.

Father André (in French).—Do you pardon all your enemies from the bottom of your heart?

Riel : I do, *mon père*—I pardon all my enemies for the love of the good God.

Father André : Have you any sentiment of malice, any feeling of malice against any one ?

Riel : No, my father, I forgive all.

Father André : Do you offer your life as a sacrifice to God ?

Riel : I do, *mon père.*

Father André : My child—the flesh is weak and the spirit strong, do you repent of all your sins of thought, word, and deed ?

Riel : I do, my father — I have committed many sins, and I ask my God's pardon for them all in the names of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

Father André : You do not wish to speak in public ? You make that a sacrifice to God ?

Riel : *Oui, mon père.* I make to my God as a sacrifice the speaking to the public in this my last hour.

Father André : God has been good to you, my son, to give you an opportunity of repenting ; are you thankful for this ?

Riel : I thank the good God that in His Providence he has enabled me to make my peace with Him and all mankind before I go away.

The two clergymen then placed their hands on his head and pronounced the absolution.

Riel then, in an affecting and childlike way, prayed God to bless his mother, his wife, his brothers, his friends, and his ENEMIES. « My father, bless me, » he said, looking up to heaven, « according to the views of your Providence, which are ample and without measure. » Then, addressing Pére André : « Will you bless me, Father ?

Father André blessed him, as did father McWilliams. He then rose from his knees and was pinioned, he meanwhile praying. When he was ready to pass out to the scaffold, Père André said to him in French, « There, go to heaven ! » (*Bon ! Allez au Ciel* !). He then kissed Pére André on the lips, and Father McWillams embraced him, giving him the side of each cheek. Riel then said, ere he turned to pass through the door which went into that room built of coarse lumber and which, if Père André is right, and Riel was really repentant, and Christianity is true, was for him the poor dingy portals of eternal day and unending peace and blessedness : —

« I give all my life a sacrifice to God. *Remerciez Madame Forget et Monsieur Forget.* O my God ! » he cried, still speaking in French as he went down stairs, « you are my support. *Mon soutien, c'est Dieu !* »

He now stood on the drop. The cord is put on his neck. He said : « *Courage, mon père.* »

Père André in subdued tones :—« Courage ! Courage ! »

They shook hands with him as did Dr. Jukes, and Riel preserving to the last that politeness which was so characteristic of him, and which was remarked during the trial, said : « Thank you, Doctor »

Then he prayed in French : « Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, have mercy on me. *J'espère encore.* I hope still. I believe in God to the last moment. »

Father McWilliams : « Pray to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. »

Riel: Have mercy on me, Sacred Heart of my Jesus! Have mercy on me. *Jesus, Marie et Joseph, assistez-moi dans mes derniers moments. Assistez-moi, Jésus, Marie et Joseph !*

Father McWilliams held the cross to him, which he kissed.

Mr. Deputy Sheriff Gibson : « Louis Riel, have you anything to say why sentence of death should not be carried out on you ? »

Riel, when Père André stood about to ascend the staircase, anxious evidently to leave tho painful scene, said in French : « Shall I say something ? »

Père André : « No. »

Riel (in French) : Then I should like to pray a little more.

Père André : He asks to pray a little more.

Deputy-Sheriff Gibson (looking at his watch) : « Two minutes. »

Father McWilliams : Say « Our Father, » and addressing Mr. Gibson, « when he comes to « Deliver us from evil, » tell him then. »

Mr. Gibson gave the directions to the hangman, who now put on Riel's head the white cap.

Riel and Father McWilliams : « Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed by thy name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven, give us this day our daily bread, and deliver us... »

The hangman pulled the crank and Riel fell a drop of nine feet.

Drs. Dodd and Cotton were below. The knot in the fall had slipped round from under the poll. The body quivered and swayed slightly to and fro. Dr. Dodd felt the pulse.

Leader Reporter : How is his pulse, Doctor ?

Dr. Dodd : It beats yet—slightly.

Leader Reporter (addressing Dr. Cotton) : I hope he is without pain.

Dr. Cotton : Oh, quite. All sensation is gone.

The body ceased to sway. It hung without a quiver. Dr. Dodd, looking at his watch and feeling the pulse of what was Riel :—« He is dead. Dead in two minutes. » Dr. Cotton put his ear to where that restless heart beat : « Dead. »

BIOGRAPHICAL AND DOCUMENTARY.

Biographical sketch of Louis David Riel to 1869.

Louis David Riel was born in Manitoba, in 1846, from the marriage of Louis Riel and Julie de Lagimodière. His grandfather was a French Canadian and his grandmother a " Franco-Montagnaise. "

His father had received an elementary education of no mean order, and probably on that account acquired a marked influence among the French Half-breeds.

He, Riel's father, was for three years in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, but left his situation in order to continue his studies under the *Oblats* fathers with whom he lived for a period of two years. Later on he came back to the Northwest and established the first flour mill ever known in the country.

Louis Riel is still remembered in Manitoba as a man of sound judgment, great bravery, and undoubted patriotism. His fondness for his family was unbounded, and he could count his friends by the thousand, not only among his own people but also among the whole population of that vast and rich country.

In 1849, the tyranny of the Hudsen Bay Company's authorities became unbearable and ferocious.

The Metis, who, as I have already stated, were the direct means of the making of the incalculable fortunes earned (?) by the Adventurers of England, were treated with utter comtempt.

The laws issued by the government of this Company on the traffic in furs had been constructed in such a way as to keep the entire population in complete and abject servitude.

The traffic with the United States was a crime of the worst kind, and was punished unmercifully.

The Metis, who, in order to secure these furs, were obliged to brave all sorts of dangers and to undergo indescribable privations and fatigue, were not allowed to sell the produce of their yearly hunting expeditions to any other traders but the officers of the Hudson Bay Company.

The prices set for their goods were ridiculously low, while those they were obliged to pay for provisions and clothing were arbitrarily high.

The stores were buying very cheap and selling very dears A Metis was not even allowed to correspond in writing with any party or parties living oustide of the British territory.

They were obliged to deposit their letters unsealed and open in the stores of the Company. These letters were carefully perused by the chief employee before being forwarded to their destination.

The government of the Hudson Bay Company went so far as

to issue a law forbidding the Metis to wear or use furs in any shape or form—such rapacity will seem incredible, but it has nevertheless been enacted by a corporation of adventurers whose laws and constitution were sanctioned and protected by the Imperial Government of England.

Now, let me ask, is there any man breathing the pure air of Heaven who will not shudder at the mere throught of such barbarity?

Is there any living creature of God who will conscientiously condemn the French Half-breeds for having tried, at the peril of their lives, to break the iron circle in which they lived for over a century.

Is there a nation on the face of the earth which will blame these unhappy and persecuted sons of the wild prairies for having made a supreme effort in order to prove to civilization that, although born and living in the wilderness of an immense and almost unknown country, they were nevertheless entitled to a place in the brotherhood of humanity.

Louis Riel was the first to understand that such treatment at the hands of the Hudson Bay Company was an outrage against common sense and mankind.

He refused to be convinced that the Adventurers of England had any right to act as law-makers, judges, and executioners at the same time.

He protested boldly against a state of things which was slowly but surely making of his countrymen a persecuted and abject race.

To the officers of the Company he openly denied the prerogative of constituting themselves absolute and only buyers and sellers, lawful postmasters, and supreme rulers.

The effects of his protestation were soon felt all over the country, and the following episode was the beginning of a new epoch for the Metis :

A French Half-breed named Sawyer had been arrested under the charge of selling furs to some private party.

His trial was to take place on the 17th of May in that year (1849).

On that day, and just after the judge had taken his seat, Riel entered the court-room followed by a party of Metis. He protested against the arrest of Sawyer, and after giving his reasons for acting thus, he released the prisoner; and not satisfied with this, he and his men went to the Hudson Bay Company's post and compelled the officers to surrender the furs they had seized from Sawyer.

From that day, the liberty of trade became an accomplished fact, and Riel, the father, is the man who is entitled to all the credit for it.

With the example of such a father before him, it was but

natural that Louis David Riel be designated by his countrymen as their leader and the defender of their cause, in the insurrectional movements of 1869 and 1885.

Bishop Alexander Taché was the first to discover that there was in the young Metis a visible and laudable thirst for study.

It is to that distinguished and highly venerated prelate that Riel owed his education.

The most Reverend Bishop succeeded in interesting Madame Masson, a French-Canadian lady, mother of the present Governor of the Province of Quebec, in behalf of the young Riel.

She became his " protectrice ", and through her solicitude and that of the worthy Bishop, Louis David Riel was sent to the College of Montreal.

During the course of his studies, he showed a strong liking for literature, poetry, and history, and he soon proved that he was a born orator.

The sweetness of his disposition made him a great favorite among his teachers and schoolmates, and many of his comtemporaries now living in the Province of Quebec, and occupying high official or private positions, still remember him as an ambitious and hard-working student.

The death of his father, which occurred in 1864, was a great blow to Louis David, and threw into his sensitive nature a shadow of melancholy and sadness which remained one of his characteristics until his last day.

His widowed mother was left with eight children to support, and from that moment he was considered the head of the family.

Louis David Riel returned to Manitoba in 1866, three years before *the first* rebellion.

Before ending this biographical sketch in which I had an opportunity to mention again the name of Archbishop Taché, I ask to be permitted to state once more that the remarks contained in my second chapter about the pamphlet issued by this venerable prelate are completely devoid of any intention of blaming his action. I know how staunch and sincere are his love and devotion for his people, and *I have witnessed* too many proofs of his unbounded patriotism to think for a moment that his real intentions in issuing the said pamphlet could be anything but well meant.

My sole object in pointing out the indifference shown by young French Canadians in 1869, during the recruiting of the expeditionary corps, was to advocate with all my might the principle that the blunders of the past ought to be a good lesson for the future, and that now, more than ever, French Canadians and Catholics of all nationalities in Canada will have to look sharp and be less indifferent, if they do not want to succumb to the untiring hatred of Orangeism.

And now, a few words more before leaving my readers. Has the execution of Louis David Riel pacified the Half-breed and Indian population?

Has the cold cruelty of the Government won the approval of the civilized world?

No; a thousand times, no!

A little less negligence, a few kind words, and a wiser policy would have done more toward furthering peace and order than the bloody work accomplished by the fratricide English bayonets in the Saskatchewan.

The members of the Ottawa Cabinet were not deservedly severe—they were awkwardly and criminally cruel. They thought that they could extinguish a rebellion with human blood.

A near future will prove that the blood so coolly shed by their hands will have the same effect as COAL OIL ON A BURNING FIRE!

Riel on the North-west question.

England has affirmed her suzerainty over the North-west in 1670, with the sole intention of submitting that vast territory and its numerous aborigines under the monopoly of the Company of Adventurers of the Hudson Bay.

The chart of king Charles II. gave to that Company the privilege to make the traffic of furs in those countries, to the exclusion of all other people, and deprived, gratuitously, the North-west of its right to transact business with the world, and the world of its right to transact business with the North-west; it frustrated the North-west of the advantages of universal commerce, and it determined the loss, to mankind in general, of the benefits that could be derived from trafficking with the tribes and colons of that great territory.

What helped most to ruin my Indian ancestors of the North-west was the fact that in becoming rich at their expense, and in proportion to the influence she gained with the English authorities, that Company became herself a government of the Hudson Bay territory, and governed it with the sole view of satisfying her avarice and cupidity.

Commercial aristocracy, backed by governmental power in the Company proper, made of that band of adventurers an ulcer, a monster which devoured the North-west and its immense riches in furs for more than half a century.

This claim made of my country by England, in order to deliver it, with my forefathers, to a set of brigands, was on the side of England an abandonment and a profanation of her duties of suzerain. And, since the history of her domination proves, in an irrecusable manner, the fact that she has been guilty

of such a criminal abandonment, I avail myself of it. I invoke that international treason, of which she has nourished the culpable growth from 1670 to 1849. I denounce the system of robbery in which she has persisted during one hundred and seventy-nine years. I declare that England has long ago forfeited all her rights to govern the North-west.

I declare my country free from her yoke and her tyranny, supplicating God, whom I adore most reverently, to sustain me and to sustain my declaration; I pray mankind to help me as much as circumstances will permit, as much as Providence will enable it to do so.

LOUIS DAVID RIEL.

Riel's letter to the "Irish World."

AN APPEAL FOR JUSTICE.

To the Citizens of the United States of America :

FELLOW-MEN : — The outside world has heard but little of my people since the beginning of this war in the North-west Territory, and that little has been related by agents and apologists of the bloodthirsty British Empire. As of old, England's infernal machination of FALSEHOOD has been employed to defame our character, to misrepresent our motives, and to brand our soldiers and allies as cruel savages. These things I learn from American papers which come to me through the same channel that I send this to you. The end which our enemies have in view is plain. Their object is to prevent good people from extending to us their sympathy while they themselves may rob us in the dark and murder us without pity.

Of one hundred or more papers that now lie in my tent. *The Irish World*, I find, is the only true friend we have. In the columns of this far-famed journal the truth is fully told, England's organs in the United States and Canada falsely aver that my people have no grievances. To contradict their false statements I now write to the defender of the oppressed, Mr. Patrick Ford, whose *Irish World* will publish a true statement of the facts in all corners of the globe.

Our lands in the North-west Territory, the possession of which were solemnly confirmed by the Government fifteen years ago, have since been torn from us and given to land-grabbers who never saw the country — and this after we had cut down forests, plucked up stumps, removed rocks, plowed and seeded the soil, and built substantial homes for ourselves and our children.

Nearly all the good available lands in this territory (as is the case with the lands east of the Rocky Mountains) are already in the clutches of English lords, who have large herds of cattle

grazing thereon; and the riches which these lands produce are drained out of the country and sent over to England to be consumed by a people that fatten on a system that pauperizes us.

This wholesale robbery and burglary has been carried on, and is still carried on, with the connivance of accursed England. The result is extermination or slavery. Against this monstrous tyranny we have been forced to rebel. It is not in human nature to quietly acquiesce in it.

In their treatment of us, however, the behavior of the English is not singular. Follow those pirates the world over, and you will find that everywhere and at all times they adopt the same tactics and operate on the same thievish lines.

Ireland, India, the Highlands of Scotland, Australia, and the isles of the Indian Ocean — all these countries are the sad evidences and their native populations are the witnesses of England's land robberies.

Even in the United States — and it is a burning shame for the Government and people of that great and free nation to have it to be said — English lords have, within a few short years, grabbed territory enough to form several large States. Alas! for the people of your country. Alas! for the Government for whose independence and glory the soldiers of George Washington fought bare-foot against the cut-throats and hell-hounds of England, — alas! that this same evil power should be allowed to return and reconquer so much of your nation without a shot being fired or even a word of protest being uttered in the name of the American people!

Your Government, which has allowed her citizens to be robbed of their heritage by English capitalists, has also given aid and comfort to the English in permitting her General Howard to come to Manitoba and the North-west Territory to school the assassins that were sent from Toronto to murder me and my people, and to give the Queen's Own lessons in handling the American Gatling gun, as well as in granting licence to British soldiers and British ammunition intended for our destruction to pass over American soil. By its conduct in this entire business the Administration at Washington has made the United States the ally of England in fighting a people who were only protecting their homes and firesides. Does it require two powerful nations such as the United States and England to put down the Saskatchewan rebellion? Grover Cleveland and Secretary Bayard have much to answer for.

It is now evident, as *The Irish World* has charged, that these two high officials of the United States are more English than American. The animus they have shown towards my people and me for the past two months, as well as the friendship and

aid they have extended to our enemies, is but an additional confirmation of what has been charged against them.

Can it possible that the American people, or any considerable portion of them, have any real sympathy with England? Have they not read, has it not come down to them from bleeding sire to son, of the crimes and atrocities and fiendish cruelties which that wicked power inflicted upon their patriotic fathers during the Revolution? Of the American towns wantonly given to the flames by order of English commanders, of the horrors of the English prison ships, and the barbarities imposed by the English upon American prisoners of war? Does not American history record the outrages perpetrated by England upon American commerce and American citizenship which led to the war of 1812? And is it not still fresh in the memory of men of middle age, how, when the Republic was engaged in a life-and-death struggle, with the slaveholders, rebellion, England gloated over your troubles and sent her sympathy and her money and her armed ships to your enemies to destroy your Union and to bring the American name into disgrace before the world? Generous minds forgive injuries, but spaniels lick the hand that smites them. The Americans are not spaniels; but, there are sycophants and lickspittles in America, nevertheless, and those base natures are to the honest people of to-day what the Tories were to the honest and patriotic people of a century ago. They are not Americans.

A word here to the French and Irish of Canada, and I am done: I beg and pray that they will not allow themselves to be induced by any threats or by any blandishments to come out against us. Our cause is just, and therefore no just man of any race or nationality ought to stand opposed to us. The enemies who seek our destruction are strangers to justice. They are cruel, treacherous, and bloody. And yet, like the tiger, they are only obeying the instincts of their nature. But for the Irish people, who for centuries have been robbed and massacred and hunted from their island home by the English, and whose good name is reviled by the English in all lands, or for the Canadian French, who are subjected to the grossest and most ruffianly abuse from the same, to aid in any way these enemies would be not only wrong but stupid and unnatural.

In a little while it will be all over. We may fail. But the rights for which we contend will not die. A day of reckoning will come to our enemies and of jubilee to my people. The hated yoke of English domination and arrogance will be broken in this land, and the long-suffering victims of their injustice will, with God's blessing, re-enter into the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions.

LOUIS RIEL

BATOCHE, N.-W. T., May 6, 1885.

Riel's last letter to his mother.

Last wishes of the fallen hero. His tender farewell to his mother. A great patriot. A devoted son. A loving husband and a fond father.

MY DEAR MOTHER—I received your letter of benediction, and yesterday, Sunday, I asked Père André to place it upon the altar during the celebration of mass in order that I might be held under the shadow of its blessing. I asked him afterward to place his hands upon my head that I might worthily receive it as I could not attend at Church, and he thus had diffused upon me the graces of mass, with its abundance of spiritual and temporal good. To my spouse, to my children, my brother and sister-in-law and other relatives, who are all very dear to me I say farewell.

Dear mother, it is the prayer of your eldest son that your prayers and beseechings in his behalf ascend to the throne of Jesus Christ, to Mary and to St. Joseph, my good protector, and that the mercy and abundant consolation of God fill you and my wife, children, and other relatives with all spiritual blessings from generation unto generation, on account of the great blessing you have poured upon myself; on yourself especially for having been a good mother to me, that your faith and hope, your charity and example be as the tree laden with excellent fruit in present and in future, and when your last day arrives that the good God shall be so much pleased with your pious spirit that he will bear it from earth upon the wings of angels. It is now two o'clock in the morning of my last day on earth, and Pére André has told me to be ready for the grand event. I listened to him, and am prepared to do everything according to his advice and earnest recommendation. God holds me in his hand to keep in peace and sweetness as oil held in a vessel which cannot be disturbed. I do what I can to keep myself ready for any event, keeping myself calm in accordance with the pious exhortations of the venerable Archbishop Bourget.

Yesterday and to-day I prayed to God to reasure you and send you all sweet consolation, and in order that your heart may not be disturbed by anxiety and trouble I am brave, and I kiss you all with affection. I embrace you as a dutiful son, and my dear wife, I embrace you as a Christian husband, according to the conjugal spirit of the Catholic union. I embrace you, children, in the breadth of divine mercy, and my brother and sisters-in-law and all relatives and friends, I embrace you with all the good feeling of which my heart is capable.

Dear mother, I am your affectionate, obedient, and submissiveson. LOUIS DAVID RIEL.

Prison of Regina, November 16, 1885.

Louis Riel's will.

A PATHETIC TESTAMENT — HE LEAVES NOT GOLD BUT GOOD ADVICE TO HIS CHILDREN.

Following is a copy of Riel's will.

In prison at Regina.

TESTAMENT OF LOUIS DAVID RIEL.

I make my testament according to counsel given me by Rev. Father Alexis André, my charitable confessor and most devoted director of my conscience.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I declare that this is my testament, that I have written it freely in the fullest possession of my faculties.

Men having fixed the 10th of November next as that of my death, and as it is possible the sentence will be executed, I declare beforehand that my submission to the orders of Providence is sincere. My will is ranged with entire liberty of action, under the influence of the Divine Grace and our Lord Jesus Christ, on the side of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church. I was born in it and it is by it that I have been regenerated.

I have retracted what I have said and professed contrary to her teaching, and I retract it again. I ask pardon for the scandal I have caused. I do not wish that there should be a difference between me and the priesthood of Jesus Christ as great as the point of a needle. If I should die on the 10th of the month — that is to say, in four days — I wish to do all in my power with the divine succor of my Saviour to die in perfect harmony with my Creator, my Redeemer, my Sanctifier, and with the Holy Catholic Church, and if my God wishes He will accord me the gift inestimable of life, I wish on my side to mount the scaffold and to resign myself to the will and end of Providence by holding myself apart, as I am to-day, from all earthly things, for I understand the most certain means of doing well and of having durable fruits is to practise and perform all enterprises in a manner entirely disinterested, without passion, without excitement, entirely in sight of God while loving your neighbor, your friend, and your enemy as yourself. For the love of God.

I thank my good and tender mother for having loved me, and for having loved me with a love so Christian. I demand of her pardon for all the faults of which I have been guilty against the love, the respect, and obedience that I owe her. I beg of her to pardon also the faults that I have committed against my duty toward my weil-loved and regretted father, and toward his venerable memory.

I thank my brothers and sisters for their great love and kindness to me. I also ask their pardon for my faults of all kinds and for all the errors for which I have been culpable in their eyes.

I thank my relatives and the relatives of my wife for always being so good and gentle to me, in particular my affectionate and well loved father-in-law, my mother-in-law, my brothers-in-law, and my sisters-in-law. I beg of them also to pardon whatever has not been right in me, all that has been evil in my conduct.

I give the hand of true friendship to my friends of all ages, of all ranks, of all conditions, and of all positions. I thank them for the services they have rendered me. Particularly am I grateful toward my friends who have deigned to busy themselves with my affairs in public both on this and the other side of the line. To the oblates of Marie Immaculate, the Society of St. Sulpice, to the Grey Nuns, for all the good and kindness I have received from my infancy I return them my thanks.

I have benefactors on the other side of the line, friends whose goodness to me has been beyond measure. I beg of them to accept my thanks, and to charitably excuse my defects, and if my conduct has in any way been offensive to them, whether in small or great matters, I beg of them to pardon me while taking into account the excuses that may be in my favor as to the real sum of my faults. « Nice capitabilities » I have. They will have goodness to forgive them all before God and man.

I pardon with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my force, with all my soul, those who have caused me chagrin, who have given me pain, who have done me harm, and have persecuted me, who have without any reason made war on me for five years, who have given me the semblance of a trial, who have condemned me to death, and if they really mean to give me to death *I pardon them* this as I ask God to pardon me all my offences entirely in the name of Jesus Christ.

I thank my wife for having been so good and charitable to me, for the part she had so patiently taken in my painful works and difficult enterprises. I pray her to pardon me the sadness I have voluntarily and involuntarily caused, I recommend to her the care of her little children — to bring them up in a Christian manner, with particular attention to all that relates to good thoughts, good actions, and good companions.

I desire that my children may be brought up with great care in all that belongs to obedience to the church, their masters and superiors. I urge them to show the greatest respect, the greatest submission, and the most complete affection toward their good mother. I do not leave to my children gold or silver,

but I beg God in His infinite pity (*je supplie les entrailles de la miséricorde de Dieu*) to fill my mind and my heart with the truly paternal blessing which I desire to give them. JEAN, *mon fils*, Marie-Angélique, *ma fille*, I bless you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, so that you may be attentive to know the will of God and faithful to accomplish it in all piety and in all sincerity; that you may practise virtue solidly but simply, without parade or ostentation; that you do the most good possible while holding to yourself, without being wanting to others within the limits of just obedience to the approved bishops and the priests, especially to your bishop and your confessor. I bless you that your death may be sweet, edifying, good, and holy in the eye of the Church and in that of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

I bless you in fine that you may seek and find the Kingdom of God, and that you may have moreover rest in Jesus, in Mary, and in Joseph. Pray for me.

I leave my testament to the Rev. Pere André, my confessor. I pray my friends everywhere to hold the name of Père André side by side with my own. I love Father André.

LOUIS DAVID RIEL,

Son of Louis Riel and of Julie de Lagimodiere.

A FEW WORDS

ADDRESSED TO

FRENCH AND GERMAN DIPLOMATISTS

By "A. Madman".

If any of the French or German diplomatists take the trouble of reading the foregoing extracts. they will be able to see clearly the purpose for which the Hudson Bay Company was organised That company, after having enriched itself and a certain number of English "noblemen" and intriguing adventurers, at the expense and to the detriment of the poor French half-breeds, and after having exhausted and impoverished the resources of the surrounding country, ceded its pretended "rights" to the British Government.

The pathetic address of poor Riel to the American nation is well worth reading and pondering over.

The "Chartered Company" was organised for South Africa on the same lines and principles as the Hudson Bay Company had previously been for Canada.

Let the French diplomatists look at the map of Africa. If England had been allowed to take possession of the Transuaal — a thing which it certainly would have accomplished had it not been for the timely and courageous conduct of the German Emperor — how long would it have been

before British Africa would be made to extend from the Cape of Good Hope to the borders of the French possessions and up to the very doors of Algeria?

And are the French diplomatists simple enough to believe that the march of British ambition in that direction is definitively stopped by that action of the well-intentioned German Emperor?

If really their pespicacity is reduced to such a low ebb, let them wake up and open their eyes to the light of day by reading the recent despatch of Chamberlain (who in his speech of last November proved that he was "all hand and glove" with Cecil Rhodes, with the Prince of Wales, with the Duke of Fife, with Barnato, with Lionel Phillips, and all those men who are the secret accomplices and "backers-up" of Dr. Jameson) let them, I say, read that despatch addressed to President Kruger, and also the comments of the English Press.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S DESPATCH ON THE TRANSVAAL QUESTION

The text of tha despatch addressed by Mr. Chamberlain to Sir H. Robinson in reference to the recent crisis in the Transvaal was issued on Friday. After briefly reviewing the history of the Republic from 1881 and the circumstances that have led to the settlement of a large Uitlander population, Mr. Chamberlain points out the anomalies of the political situation created by the exclusive policy and legislation of the Boer Government. This policy and legislation aroused among the Uitlanders a feeling of intense irritation, which has not been lessened by the manner in which remonstrances have been received.

Times, *Feb. 8, 1896.*

Mr. Chamberlain has taken the first step towards the redress of the grievances complained of by foreigners in the Transvaal. He has formulated them in a State paper,

with moderation yet with firmness, and has insisted with becoming gravity upon the dangers to peace and pros-



perity which cannot but continue in one form or another until reasonable satisfaction is obtained. He takes a step in advance of previous British Governments by asserting

that, independently of all rights of intervention in particular matters arising out of the Convention of 1884, Great Britain is justified, in the interests of South Africa as a whole, as well as of the peace and stability of the Republic itself, in tendering her friendly counsels as regards the newcomers, who are mainly British subjects. It is perhaps infortunate for all parties that we have so long delayed the assertion of the right of a State to protect its subjects by every means in its power from palpable injustice. In his enumeration of grievances, Mr. Chamberlain has unaccountably omitted one of the most important. He has made no mention of the systematic interference of the Transvaal Government with the independence of the Courts.

Standard, *Feb. 8.*

Mr. Chamberlain is obviously not quite easy in his mind as to the wholesale arrests of citizens after they had placed themselves and their cause in the keeping of the High Commissioner. He re-affirms in the most absolute terms that the external relations of the Republic are subject to the control of this country, and he adds that, in the interest of South Africa as a whole, as well as of the peace and stability of the Transvaal State, Great Britain is justified in tendering "its friendly counsels as regards the newcomers, who are mainly British subjects." He recognises most fully the difficulties under which President Krüger labours—difficulties due partly to the conservative bias and partly to the singular ignorance of large classes of his countrymen, and partly to the reasonable fear that, if the foreign majority be admitted to equal rights, the Boer minority will be swamped. As an alternative, then, to the policy of enfranchisement, he proposes a scheme which may briefly be described as Home Rule for the Rand.

Daily News, *Feb* 8.

The despatch, almost from first to last, recites the reasons which should incline the Boers, not only to moderation, but to the redress of grievances. It shows the urgency of measures of conciliation, and it rejects as unsatisfactory the plea that the evidence of conspiracy against the Republic is a sufficient reason for their postponement. The Boers are advised to lose no time in offering a satisfactory settlement. They are reassured as to this country's recognition of their perfect independence

in internal affairs, and, at the same time, reminded of Great Britain's inalienable rights of control over their external relations. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN then comes to the real business of his missive by showing that the population of the Rand, while they have no case to justify insurrection, have a case to justify discontent. There can be no question as to the true nature of the Government proposal. The Boers are advised, and very sensibly advised, to constitute the Rand an autonomous district, wiht its own Legislature, and its own right of legislation in purely internal affairs—subject, of course. to the veto of Pretoria, It is the old "Bill for Ireland" adapted, with very slight modification, to the constitution of an *imperium in imperio* beyond the Vaal.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, *Feb.* 8.

Last night's *Gazette* contains a highly interesting and important State-paper by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, reviewing in detail the whole history of the present difficulties in the Transvaal. The value of such a document is not measured merely by the clearness and consecutiveness of a story which is now put before us for the first time in its proper perspective, with all its antecedent circumstances rightly explained, as leading up to and necessitating the final catastrophe. To have such a general view as this on a difficult and intricate subject is, no doubt, requisite for the formation of a true historic judgment; but, if that were all, it would hardly satisfy our inevitable curiosity. Living as we do in the midst of events which have stirred us more deeply perhaps than any other incident of our times, and with the constant and unintermittent influence upon our minds of daily reports, confused, fragmentary, and in great measure contradictory the one of the other, it is a relief which the public will not be slow to appreciate to come across authoritative statements on certains points which have hitherto been wrapped in obscurity, or wrongly decided on insufficient and controvertible evidence.

MORNING POST, *Feb.* 8.

From baginning to end Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's despatch is clear and decisive. It entirely divorces the affair of Dr. JAMESON from the grievances of the Uitlanders, it defines with firmness our control over the foreign relations of the Transvaal, and makes a suggestion as to the future of the Rand which the Boer Government will do well to weigh with the consideration it deserves. No despatch

could be more statesmanlike, or framed in a manner more acceptable to the President of the South African Republic.

DAILY CHRONICLE, *Feb.* 8.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's recital of the grievances of the Outlanders is in the main proper enough. We imagine there are one or two errors, and, in particular we do not quite appreciate the point of Mr. CAMBERLAIN's complaint of the monopoly concessions to certain Outlanders. No one doubts the evil of these concessions, but, as it happens, certain of the gentlemen whose companies have enjoyed some of the richest of them were the leaders or the revolutionary movement. The point is an important one, for it illustrates Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's own contention, that the lawless side of the agitation was confined to what Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's calls "a handful of the wealthier inhabitants," and that the majority of the population had little sympathy with the revolutionary movement.

MORNING, *Feb.* 8.

The Reform Bill drafted by President KRUGER appears to fall very far short of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's suggestions, which certainly do not err on the side of stringency. Power is proposed to be placed in the hands of the burghers, and the conditions of citizenship require such a prolonged period of residence and to be otherwise so difficult to fulfil as practically are prohibitive to the foreign resident. Admitting the independence of the Boers within their own borders, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN puts forward his ideas as suggestions merely; but they are suggestions which the Boers will do well not to treat as gratuitous. The safety of their Republic, it is not too much to say, depends upon their being able to offer concessions in the spirit of this masterly and plain-spoken despatch, since there are moral forces at work which will inevitably burst the narrow limits at present placed upon them.

If the foregoing extracts are not sufficient to show how the British Governement intends to act, and to excite the other governments of the world to some energetic counteraction, then it is evident to me that it is the destiny of the British Government to take possession of all its surroundings, and that of Englishmen to become the masters of the world.

Now in closing I will address one word specially to the German diplomatists. The only stumbling-block which exists in the way of a sincere alliance between France and Germany is to be found in the Alsace-Lorraine question. With the return of these two provinces to France, more than half of the Army budgets of the two nations may be retrenched, and Germany may, in Africa and elsewhere, gain advantages worth a hundred times more than a dozen Alsace-Lorraines. To-day, your real enemy is England, not France. Let it be remembered that England never pardons those who have once scared her. The English press has treated Germany in a more outrageous manner than ever did the French press even in the moments of its bitterest enmity.

Let German diplomatists pause and consider whether it is to the interest and the welfare of the German people to allow England to contract alliances against Germany. She will do this sooner or later if she is not closely watched.

Let the Germany Emperor and people take a step backward and contract an alliance with France. This, however, I repeat, is impossible except by the means of a voluntary and friendly cession of Alsace and Lorraine to France. Such an alliance would enable the two Governments to do things in furtherance of the welfare of their respectives peoples far beyond the present day-dreams of the most rabid socialists.

J. A.

Le *Financial Post* de Londres, ce même journal vénal qui a traité le petit-fils de sa Reine comme on n'oserait pas traiter le dernier des misérables, n'a pas craint — **à cause de la grosse fortune de Barnato** — de s'incliner devant cet ex-clown qui a fait perdre un milliard à l'épargne française! Cette feuille cynique a osé publier l'article suivant et est même allée jusqu'à accoler le nom de cet *acrobate arrivé*, complice du pirate Jameson, à celui de Napoléon !.....

Reproduire cet article ainsi que le portrait de Barnato nous semble la seule réponse à faire à cette *feuille champignonne* d'Angleterre, pour nous servir de l'expression de son correspondant parisien Blackith parlant des journaux français.



SA MAJESTÉ MINIÈRE

On raconte que le duc de Wellington avait fait la remarque que la présence de Napoléon équivalait à un renfort de 50,000 hommes. . . . . .

M. Barnato jouit d'un succès phénoménal et toute sa carrière a été une suite de succès, d'honneur, de générosité . . . .

La somme de bien qu'un homme, tel que Barnato, peut faire et a déjà fait est incalculable et son nom peut être accouplé avec ceux des géants industriels de toutes les époques. . . . . .

Barnato est un des plus remarquables monuments de puissance et de sagacité que notre siècle ait produits. Garrick a dit, si nous nous rappelons bien, que: « de connaître Mrs. Bracebridge est une éducation libérale » ; la même épithète peut être appliquée à Barnato, dont les travaux ne pouvaient être accomplis que par un maître penseur et qui le classeront avec les Arkwright, les Watt, les Stevenson — les plus grands bienfaiteurs de la race humaine — des hommes qui ont laissé l'empreinte de leurs pas dans le sable du temps.

(*The Financial Post.*)

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3. Jugements d'Homologation rendus le 29 juin 1894.
4. Circulaire de M. Lemarquis, expliquant les jugements d'Homologation.
5. La *Revue Economique et Financière* du 7 juillet 1894.
6. Lettre du Comité Exécutif du 2 juillet 1894 à M. Gautron.
7. Lettre à M. de La Bouglise, ingénieur des Mines (Les canons hydr.).
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4. Le Nicaragua Canal Bill.
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5. La Nouvelle Compagnie du Canal de Panama, le Panama Railroad.
6. Lettre à M. Armand Rousseau, gouverneur général de l'Indo-Chine.
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8. *Le Temps* du 4 février 1895 sur les Mines d'or.

OPINION D'ÉDOUARD DRUMONT

M. Aron publie un journal qui contient des dessins parfois bizarres sur moi et sur d'autres et qui sera fort intéressant pour les collectionneurs de l'avenir. — Il y dénonce au Gouvernement le danger que fait courrir à l'épargne française la spéculation éhontée sûr les mines d'or et prédit un krach, etc., etc.

La Libre Parole du 2 juillet 1895.

La littérature juive. — Lettre à Barrès, rédacteur en chef de la *Cocarde.* — Réponse de Barrés.

Statuts *in extenso* de la Compagnie dite française de Mines d'or et d'Exploration, 20, rue Taitbout, Paris, avec les noms des actionnaires français, anglais et allemands, pris au greffe de la Justice de Paix du IXe arrondissement.

Traduction *in extenso* des discours prononcés par le duc de Fife et Cecil J. Rhodes à la réunion des actionnaires de la « Chartered » le 18 janvier 1895.

Copie des rapports officiels des dividendes payés par toutes les mines d'or du Transvaal, de 1888 à 1894 inclusivement.

Traduction des leaders du *New York Herald* sur le danger de la spéculation et sur le krach inévitable, après le refus du *Herald* de reproduire en français ces leaders dans son journal.

Reproduction des différents articles financiers de janvier 1895 à ce jour du journal le *Temps.*

Leaders de journaux anglais : l'*Economist,* le *Statist,* etc., etc.. sur les mines d'or et les administrateurs.

Le canal de la Baltique et le canal de Panama.

Interviews avec : MM. Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire. — Avec le Directeur Général de la Compagnie Française de Mines d'Or et d'Exploration. — Avec un célèbre banquier franco-américain qui déclare le krach inévitable. Sages conseils donnés par ce

banquier à l'épargne française. — Avec l'ancien Consul Général de France à San Francisco. — Avec M. Nicolo, secrétaire particulier de M. Casimir-Périer, etc., etc., etc.

Lettres à MM. le Président de la République Française, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, le Ministre de la Justice, Edouard Drumont, etc., etc.

La Province et les mines d'or. — Les mines d'or à la Chambre des Députés. — MM. de Mahy et Rouanet se servent dans leurs discours des renseignements officiels puisés dans les *Mines d'Or.*

Traduction *in extenso* de l'enquête faite par la Commission spéciale nommée par le Congrès des Etats-Unis sur le Canal de Panama et le Panama Railroad, les agissements du Comité américain Seligmann, Drexel et Winslow, etc., etc.

Illustrations.

Georges Lempereur, dit Térof, artiste dramatique âgé de 19 ans et le directeur littéraire des Rothschild (d'après la *Libre Parole*). — Alexandre Dumas fils. — John Bull emportant l'épargne française. — Le clown Barnato. — Le « Tout Israël ». — Waldeck-Rousseau en costume d'avocat plaidant devant la 3e Chambre (affaire Sutro). — Georges Thiébaut. — Fac-simile du *New York Herald* avec portrait de M. Seligmann.

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"L'Or et l'Argent"

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DÉLÉGUÉ, AUX ÉTATS-UNIS, DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES GENS DE LETTRES

Un modèle pour les journaux chéquards. — La publicité du "New York Herald" ne s'achète pas.

Lettre ouverte à un ancien préfet de police.

Lettre au Président de la République française.

Première publication du jugement prononcé en faveur du comte de Kératry.

Lettre au Président de la République (suite et fin).

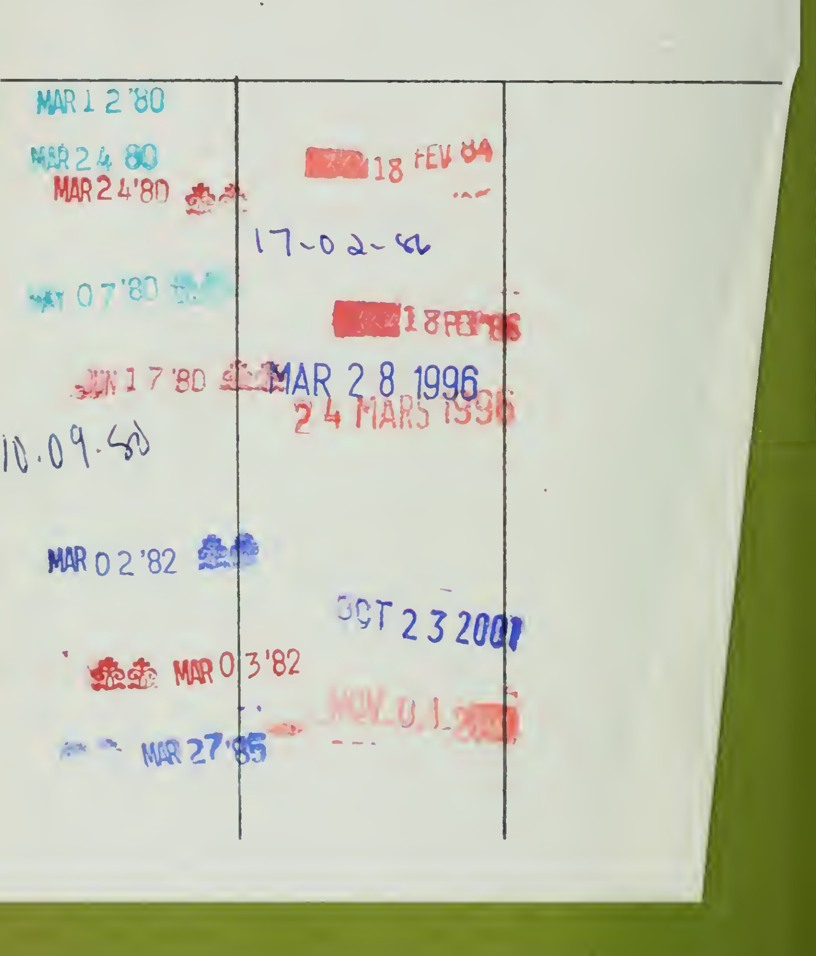
Lettre de M. Uhric à l'Impératrice Victoria.

Fac-similé du *South Africa.*

Hommage au Shakespeare français.

Correspondance avec Alexandre Dumas au sujet de la *Femme de Claude.* — Fac-similés des lettres d'Alexandre Dumas.

Imprimerie PAUL SCHMIDT, Montrouge (Seine).


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